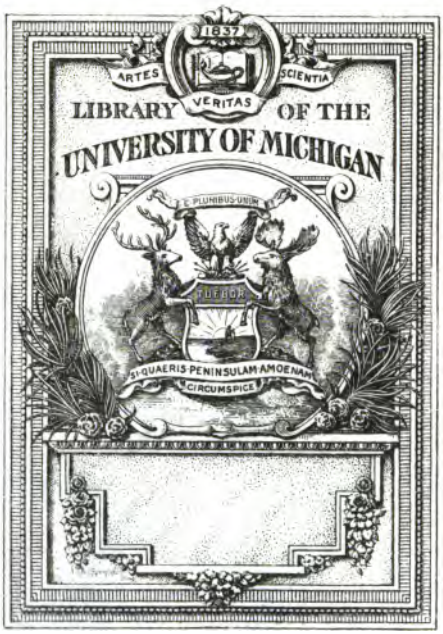

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

LABOR,

WITH PRELUDES ON CURRENT EVENTS.

By JOSEPH COOK.

I am perfectly convinced that the real way to elevate the character of the working classes is to give them a command over the necessaries of life. — SIR ROBERT PEEL.

BOSTON:
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INTRODUCTION.

THE object of the Boston Monday Lectures is to present the results of the freshest German, English, and American scholarship, on the more important and difficult topics concerning the relations of Religion and Science.

They were begun in the Meionaon in 1875; and the audiences, gathered at noon on Mondays, were of such size as to need to be transferred to Park-street Church in October, 1876, and thence to Tremont Temple, which was often more than full during the winter of 1876–77, and in that of 1877–78. The very capacious auditorium of Tremont Temple was destroyed by fire in August, 1879; and in November, 1879, the lectures were transferred to the Old South Meeting House, the most interesting of the historic edifices of New England.

The audiences have always contained large numbers of ministers, teachers, and other educated men.

The thirty-five lectures given in 1876–77 were reported in the Boston Daily Advertiser, by Mr. J. E. Bacon, stenographer; and most of them were republished in full in New York and London. They are contained in the first, second, and third volumes of "Boston Monday Lectures," entitled "Biology," "Transcendentalism," and "Orthodoxy."

The thirty lectures given in 1877–78 were reported by Mr. Bacon for the Advertiser, and republished in full in New York and London. They are contained in the fourth, fifth, and sixth

volumes of "Boston Monday Lectures," entitled "Conscience," "Heredity," and "Marriage."

The twenty lectures given in 1878–79 were reported by Mr. Bacon, for the Advertiser, and republished in full in New York and London. They are contained in the seventh and eighth volumes of "Boston Monday Lectures," entitled "Labor" and "Socialism."

In the present volume some of the salient points are: —

1. A definition of Socialism by its theories, as the legal and compensated or compulsory and uncompensated transmutation of private, competing, family, or corporation capital, into public, collective, and uncompeting capital.

2. A definition of both Communism and Socialism, by their tendencies in practice, as involving the abolition of inheritance and private property, and the expropriation of its present owners (Lecture I.).

3. A definition of natural wages as consisting of at least twice the cost of the unprepared food of the laborer and his family (Lecture VIII.).

4. A definition of natural profits (Lectures VIII. and IX.).

5. A defence of the theory that natural wages and natural profits are not antagonistic to each other, or that profits do not necessarily lessen as wages increase (Lecture IX.).

6. A free use of the facts collected by the original investigations of the Massachusetts Labor Bureau, as to the condition of working-people, male and female, in factory-towns (Lectures V.–VII.).

7. A consideration of the moral perils of congregated labor in manufacturing centres (Lectures III. and V.).

8. A discussion of woman's wages, and of the relations of sex to industry (Lectures V. and VI.).

9. A consideration of the susceptibility of the United States to communistic and socialistic disease, under universal suffrage, and of theocratic equality as a remedy for democratic equality (Lectures I. and X.).

10. A defence of the rights of children in factories to the protection of health and to education (Lecture IV.).

The names of the gentlemen constituting the Committee now in charge of the Boston Monday Lectureship are as follows: —

Hon. A. H. Rice, Ex-Governor of Massachusetts.
Hon. William Claflin, Ex-Governor of Massachusetts.
Rev. George Z. Gray, D.D., Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge.
Right Rev. Bishop Paddock.
Prof. E. P. Gould, Newton Theological Institution.
Rev. William M. Baker, D.D.
Rev. William F. Warren, D.D., Boston University.
Prof. L. T. Townsend, Boston University.
Rev. L. B. Bates, D.D.
Robert Gilchrist.
Prof. E. N. Horsford.
Rev. R. S. Storrs, D.D., Brooklyn.
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Russell Sturgis, Jr.
Right Rev. Bishop Foster.
Rev. A. J. Gordon, D.D.
Samuel Johnson.
Prof. B. P. Bowne.
Rev. M. R. Deming.
Prof. J. P. Gulliver, Andover Theological Seminary.
President M. B. Anderson, Rochester, N.Y.
Rev. Prof. R. D. Hitchcock, D.D., New York.
Rev. Otis Gibson, San Francisco.
Rev. A. L. Stone, D.D., San Francisco.
Chancellor L. C. Garland, Vanderbilt University, Tenn.
Right Rev. Bishop Huntington, Syracuse, N.Y.
President James McCosh, Princeton, N.J.
B. W. Williams, *Secretary and Treasurer.*

HENRY F. DURANT, *Chairman.*

PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

In the careful reports of Mr. Cook's Lectures printed in the Boston Daily Advertiser, were included by the stenographer sundry expressions (applause, &c.) indicating the immediate and varying impressions with which the Lectures were received. Though these reports have been thoroughly revised by the author, the publishers have thought it advisable to retain these expressions. Mr. Cook's audiences included, in large numbers, representatives of the broadest scholarship, the profoundest philosophy, the acutest scientific research, and generally of the finest intellectual culture, of Boston and New England; and it has seemed admissible to allow the larger assembly to which these Lectures are now addressed to know how they were received by such audiences as those to which they were originally delivered.

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THE ONE HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, NOV. 4.

The Alpha and Omega of socialism is the transmutation of private competing capital into united collective capital. — SCHÆFFLE: *Quintessence of Socialism.*

Communism is the exploitation of the strong by the weak. In communism, inequality springs from placing mediocrity on a level with excellence. This damaging equation is repellent to the conscience, and causes merit to complain. — PROUDHON: *First Memoir on Property.*

LABOR.

I.

INFIDEL ATTACK ON PROPERTY.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

MASSACHUSETTS is to give her opinion, before another sun goes down, concerning the hard-money political party, and a cheap-jack and burglar, greenback and greenhorn gang. [Applause.] The first skirmish in the presidential contest of 1880 will be fought in this not thoughtless Commonwealth to-morrow. An attempt is making to use the chair of Gov. Andrew as a block to aid a political adventurer into the saddle of the wild horse of inflation. Sitting Bull, travelling in Massachusetts under the assumed name of Denis Kearney, appears in Faneuil Hall in his shirt-sleeves, and preaches a crusade of the poor against the rich. Massachusetts weighs him, and finds him first indecent, then blasphemous, then shallow [applause], and last, and chief of all, bloodthirsty.

The doctrines of the sand-lots of San Francisco are heard on Boston Common. "Let Fall River remember that Moscow was burned to ashes." "Labor must be crowned king, even if it wades knee-deep in blood." "We stand ready on election day to take the life of any man, be he United States supervisor or other officer, who attempts to debar voters from exercising the right of suffrage." "We, the working-men, are in the majority, and shall install our candidate though the streets run with blood." Language worse than this, I myself heard uttered by the chief of the California working-men's party, to a throng of puffing, smoking loafers on a hill on the Common yonder; and, turning to watch the throng, I found in their faces a good deal of foreign blood. Undoubtedly there were men there who thought the whole affair a huge joke; but the question is, whether we can allow, in view of what is to come in Massachusetts, sentiments of this kind to be scattered broadcast through the operative population.

Eastern Massachusetts is a factory. It is a school also, I know; but the factory is not conscious that the sunrise side of this Commonwealth is a school, nor is the school conscious of the fact that the same side is also a factory. Draw a line north and south, and another east and west, each dividing the population of Massachusetts in halves, and the two lines cross each other not far from Mount Auburn. Fall River, Lowell, Lawrence, this city, as manufacturing centres, have grown so fast that in spite of the great

increase of the population in the western part of the State, the population of Massachusetts balances about a point not five miles west of the State House. This growth of the manufacturing population has made New England, not a New Ireland indeed, but the commencement of one. In certain portions of the operative population, a hearing can be had for the devouring absurdities of sand-lot oratory, which would have no importance were there not powder near the sparks. The powder is so wet now, that there will be no explosion, but I am not sure it always will be. Only the impotence of these incendiary harangues prevents their author from being arrested. While we notice that the speeches are brainless and blasphemous and bloodthirsty, let us remember that they are made in the interest and under the general approval of an aspirant, not only for the highest political position in this State, but also for the highest in the nation. I am here as the representative of no political party, nor of any church; but I am by no means venturing too much in saying that no man ought to vote to put into public office a candidate who indirectly justifies incendiary appeals of the sort I have described, to the prejudice of the poor against the rich. [Applause.] What if these appeals are but the tail of the kite? Their rustling is heard at the distance. Having lately looked on Massachusetts from Washington, from Toronto, and from the Mississippi Valley; having found only too much power in such ruffian vituperation on the Mississippi; and having heard, a little

more closely at hand than we can here, what sand-lot oratory has done on the Pacific coast, I am not willing that the fact should be overlooked that our State is an operative quarter, and that these appeals, if allowed to go unrebuked by the Church, and unreproved at the ballot-box, must ultimately work mischief with the half-educated operative population, largely of foreign origin. I am not speaking of the skilled operatives, over whom, as a class, a political quack has little power. It is our fault that any part of the manufacturing population is half-educated; it is our fault that any portion of it have complaints to make of employers; it is our fault that occasionally the faces of low-paid laborers have been ground by capital; it is our fault that there is not a good understanding between labor and capital, everywhere up and down the Atlantic coast. But let us not add to our faults by allowing these speeches, fit for a wild communist in Paris, to go utterly unrebuked. They are not as unimportant as you think, in view of our crowded and hazardous future.

While I would have the factory population of 1980 in our minds, I would have the Presidential contest of 1880 there also. Especially am I anxious that working-men should remember the financial distress of 1873.

Were I a manual laborer, and about to vote to-morrow, I should call my family together, and say: "How much did the price of our necessaries of life rise between 1860 and 1872?" If the reply were a correct one, it would be, "Sixty-one per cent."—

"How much did our wages rise?" — "Thirty per cent." Less than half as much! Statistics gathered by the Massachusetts Labor Bureau, and by the officers who took the last national census, show that the war currency lifted prices sixty-one per cent, and wages, on the average, thirty per cent. "Fiat-money, greenback issues," I should remind my family, "made currency plenty, and prices went up, and business was lively; but our wages did not go up as fast as the prices. Will it help us much to go through that experience again? We want fiat-money once more; we want a greenback currency; we want to raise prices! But, if the prices go up faster than our wages, how are we to be helped by the change? How are we to avoid loss by it, and hardship? It is the notorious history of all inflation, that wages are the last things to rise, and when they do start upward they never reach so high a plane as the necessaries of life. When the fall comes, wages go down quicker than prices of food." Therefore I should say to my family, "I purpose to vote for hard money." Out of pity for the working-men let us stand by the honest dollar. [Applause.]

The French communist has learned that inflation is no friend of his interests. The French nation contracted its currency sharply, and last January resumed specie-payments. The heresies of those who defend fiat-money in America would obtain very little hearing on the Seine. It is a fact also, however often you may have been assured of the opposite, that the Bank of England has not sus-

pended once since the resumption of specie-payment after the wars with Napoleon. It has suspended, occasionally, the bank act, by which it was determined that a certain number of issues should go out on the basis of a certain amount of reserves; but never has there been a time since 1823, when the Bank of England would not pay a pound in gold for a pound in its promissory notes.

The American people are close upon the great blessing of resumption. We are so unthoughtful, so unmindful of what our commercial prosperity has done for us, that some of us forget the firm land which our feet almost touch; on which, indeed, they are planted, although the feet are slightly under water: we forget all that prosperity which is just before us, and wish to turn our faces again to the bottomless sea.

What has caused hard times in this country? It is said to be very difficult to answer that question. My reply to it is, that the present hard times were caused by the destruction of property in the war, and the abuse of credit. There were nine hundred millions of property struck out of existence by our civil contest. Suppose that there are ten millionnaires in the State of Massachusetts; let them fail, and of course distress would fall upon many working-men. We have thirty-eight States; let ten millionnaires fail in every State, we should then have only three hundred and eighty millions swept out of existence, but what a revulsion that would make in commerce! Nevertheless we had more than twice that amount of

money sunk by our civil contest, and we borrowed money to fill up the gap. The government went into the business of war. This obliged it to go into the business of borrowing. The government was, as it were, a great factory, taking operatives from all quarters of the nation; and while the war continued, and while our credit was good, of course times were lively. Speculators rashly abused credit, and nearly all men seemed to forget that a pay-day must come. I will not say that the government itself abused credit, for we put a limit to it; we positively promised we would issue only a certain number of greenbacks. Pay-day has come at last, and of course hard times have appeared in our history. In spite of our burdens, however, we have lifted ourselves so that resumption is possible in the United States at the opening of 1879. A political party rises, and proposes to prevent resumption. It proposes that we should curse ourselves with a political currency. It proposes to make prices high by allowing that currency to depreciate. It proposes, in short, to repeat the disasters a fluctuating currency has already brought upon us.

Let a fiat-currency be scattered over the land, and let it depreciate, and millions of dollars in value will be taken away from the value of deposits in the savings-banks. The widows and orphans sleeping in attics, families living in cellars, that have somewhat laid away for a rainy day, and, worse than all that, the relatives of those men whose graves I paced over on the battle-field of Gettysburg last Sunday, the maimed men who came from that field, and others

like it, the pensioners of the United States, who receive now thirty millions annually of the public money, will find this income depreciated in value millions of dollars.

Our honor and political peace, and industrial prosperity, are more largely at stake than we think. Vote with 1880 and with 1980 in mind. Remember 1873. So large is the unskilled operative population in Massachusetts on the Atlantic slope, and so has it been misled, that I shall not be surprised if there is a large vote for monstrous absurdities in politics. But if there is a victorious vote, if there shall be saddled upon us the disgrace of appearing to justify these incendiary speeches and these insane doctrines of finance, the Massachusetts paper kite, and its California appendage wound about our neck, will be large enough to make a fool's-cap for a State that is not accustomed to wear that style of a helmet. [Applause.] We must take care of the poor, or they will take care of us. We must take care of demagogues, or they will take care of both the poor and the rich. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

When a bishop of Paris, in 1871, was brought before Raoul Rigault, one of the boldest of the Communists, the venerable ecclesiastic, addressing his accusers, said, "Children, what do you wish to do with me?" — "We are your betters," said Rigault, who was hardly thirty years of age. "Speak as if to your superiors. Who are you?" The bishop,

whose charities had been known in Paris for a generation, replied, "I am the servant of God." — "Where does he live?" asked Rigault. "Everywhere," was the answer. "Very well," said the Communist, "send this bishop to prison, and issue an order for the arrest of one God, who lives everywhere." That order was never executed; but, until God can be arrested, communism cannot succeed. [Applause.] A few days later, Rigault lay on one of the streets of Paris, half his skull shot away, one eye a clot of blood, and the other, open, was glaring wildly into space, as if he saw the Being who cannot be arrested.

It is of little moment whether Germany, France, England, or America oppose communism or not. The important question is, whether the Supreme Powers are communists, and whether they can be arrested.

We shall best ascertain what the reply to that question is by asking for a definition of communism and socialism.

1. Communism, as defined by the official language of its most radical teachers and by the practical results to which it tends, means the abolition of inheritance, the abolition of the family, the abolition of nationalities, the abolition of religion, and the abolition of property.

2. Socialism, as understood by its practical tendencies, means all these five things, except the last.

Communism is the state ownership of all property, and its enjoyment in common by the whole population. Socialism is state ownership of all property

except that which the individual workman himself must have to supply his personal wants.

The socialist would allow the existence of individual property. He does not proclaim with Proudhon, and with all communism of the thorough-going type, that "property is robbery." But he does not believe in inheritance. He holds that a man should be allowed to have only as much property as he can personally use. The extreme socialist of the French, German, and Russian type agrees with the communist in clamoring for the abolition of inheritance, nationality, family, and religion. The International Society proclaims itself atheist. A procession of twenty thousand socialists singing ribald songs passed lately into a cemetery in Berlin through gates on which were inscribed the words, "There is no hereafter."

At the bottom of socialism there is disbelief in the family; and, although the family is not in the chronological order the first point of attack, it is in the logical order; for, when once the family is destroyed as a social institution, there will be less reason for maintaining the laws of inheritance, or, indeed, any of our present regulations concerning property. I am not asserting that all socialists understand by socialism these four things, or that all communists would accept my definition; but the ringleaders, the positive men, in both socialistic and communistic circles, hold these notions. I am not accusing trades-unions of holding them, although the foremost of American newspapers has endeav-

ored to prove that American trades-unions are in far too close alliance with secret socialistic organizations.

Many well-meaning people are supporting positions more or less socialistic, and abhor the extremes of socialism, strictly so called. But the central force of any great movement in public sentiment usually draws into its current, first or last, the subsidiary ripples. In practical conflict on the field of politics, all great causes generalize themselves, and minor details drop out of view. The question between North and South in our civil war was that between freedom and slavery, with details omitted. The broad issue between communism and socialism on the one hand, and the Christian commonwealth on the other, is the contrast between atheism and theism. It comes at last to be an irrepressible conflict between an atheistic and a theistic arrangement of society. The modern socialistic question is, whether God shall be, or shall not be, arrested; or, rather, whether the order shall be given for his arrest or not. Are the Supreme Powers in favor of the abolition of the family? Are they in favor of the abolition of the laws of inheritance? Are they in favor of such a re-organization of society as would require the uprooting of several of the deepest instincts in human nature? Surely the love of home and the love of property are two of the strongest passions in man. The question is, whether the Supreme Powers are levellers up or levellers down. I hope they are the former, and that the progress of the ages will

show that their plan in this respect must come to fruition. But the plan of socialism, the plan of communism, is levelling down. The distinction between white republicanism and red republicanism, between American constitutional republicanism and Parisian communistic democracy, is that the one levels up, and the other levels down. If I am not mistaken, the Supreme Powers are on the side of the levellers up, and exceedingly against the levellers down. [Applause.]

It is a common impression, that American society is incapable of being infected to any large degree by the wild socialistic notions produced chiefly by the political evils of the Old World. We have a largely unoccupied and a monumentally free country. We have no law of primogeniture, no aristocracy, and no privileged classes. There never can arise in America, some of us think, any great danger from either communistic or socialistic notions. In view of this position of public sentiment, I beg leave to raise for serious discussion the question: How large is the susceptibility of America to communistic and socialistic political disease?

1. The United States are soon to be the wealthiest of all nations.

2. In proportion to the wealth of a nation on the whole, has heretofore been the inequality of its citizens as to wealth.

3. It appears to be inevitable, therefore, that, as the richest of all nations, the United States will exhibit large inequalities of wealth among their citizens.

4. In Christendom, as a whole, the inequality of men as to wealth, although slavery has been abolished, is greater now than it was four hundred or one hundred years ago.

5. On account of the growth of all means of intercommunication, modern civilization is marked by a disproportionate increase of the size of city populations.

6. From this results the massing of both capital and labor at the great centres of population.

7. The massing of capital strengthens it. The massing of labor weakens it.

8. Universal suffrage in the United States is sure to carry questions between capital and labor into politics.

9. It is at present estimated that fifteen hundred thousand voters belong to secret organizations in the United States.

10. It is their avowed purpose to acquire political power, and to govern the country in such a way as to cripple capital and promote the interests of manual laborers.

11. Demagogues, therefore, are likely to make use of this issue to lift themselves into power, and have already commenced their work on a large scale.

12. No hereditary aristocracy in America, and no king is likely to appear here to keep order.

13. The United States are the only nation in which questions between capital and labor cannot be settled by force, and must be settled by reason.

14. The safety of republican institutions in the

United States depends on the prevention of the formation of four classes here: an indigent class, an unemployed class, an ignorant class, an unprincipled class.

15. *The only effectual means of preventing the formation of the first three of these classes is to prevent the formation of the fourth.*

16. The keynote of safety for society is not democratic but theocratic equality. [Applause.]

The commercial greatness of England commonly dazzles politicians and men of affairs. Her foremost statesman has lately printed the opinion that in the race of commercial prosperity the United States are passing Great Britain by with swiftness and ease. Mr. Gladstone thinks that the census of 1880 will show that the United States and not England is the wealthiest of all nations. The income of the United Kingdom is now a thousand million pounds annually. This enormous fortune has been accumulated so rapidly, that if Great Britain had started from nothing fifty years ago, and progressed at the rate of the recent annual increment of her wealth, she would have now not far from her present income. "While we have been advancing with this portentous rapidity," says Mr. Gladstone, "America is passing us by in a canter." (*North American Review*, September and October, 1878, p. 181.) Mr. Gladstone ventures to proclaim to England that America can and probably will wrest from Great Britain the far-stretched, glittering, massive sceptre of her commercial supremacy. "We have no title," says Mr.

Gladstone, "and I have no inclination to murmur at the prospect. If America acquires commercial supremacy, she will make the acquisition by the right of the strongest; but in this instance the strongest means the best. She will probably become what we are now, the head servant in the great household of the world, the employer of all employed, because her service will be the most and ablest. We have no more title against her than Venice, or Genoa, or Holland has had against us. There can hardly be a doubt, as between the America and England of the future, that the daughter, at some no very distant time, will, whether fairer or less fair, be unquestionably yet stronger than the mother."

"*O matre forti filia fortior!*" (*Ibid.*, pp. 180, 181.)

Thus, weighing all his syllables, speaks the foremost statesman of a power of which our Webster used to like to say that her morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, encircles the world with one continuous strain of the martial airs of England.

Pardon me, gentlemen, if I ask you not to underrate America commercially. At your leisure in your libraries, will you cover the United States on the map [illustrating on Guyot's wall-atlas hung on the platform], and then take up the screening object, and place it on the Roman Empire. Cæsar's dominion will be more than hidden. Open your compasses until you touch on the one side Boston and on the other San Francisco, and you have separated them so widely that they cannot be put down anywhere

within the bounds of Cæsar's domain. The longest line that can be drawn inside the old Roman Empire will not reach from Boston to San Francisco. The Roman eagles, when their wings were strongest, never flew as far as from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate. The Roman Empire lay on the shoulder of the planet in shape like a boy's fish-reel, its four corners, London in England, Thebes in Egypt, the Straits of Gibraltar, and the frosty Caucasus. Open your compasses until you touch on the one side London, and on the other Thebes, and you have not separated them as far as you must to span the green fields and steepled cities between the surf of the Bay of Fundy and the waterfalls of the Yosemite. Open them again until they touch Gibraltar on the one hand, and the Caucasian range on the other, and you have not separated them widely enough to touch on the one hand the Florida reefs and on the other the

> "Continuous woods
> Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound
> Save his own dashings."

Allow me to pluck up the territory of the American Union as Milton's angels did the hills of heaven; and employ the mass as a pattern, and endeavor to cut from some other portion of the globe another piece like it. I place one corner of it upon London, and the other corner projects beyond Thebes in Egypt. I place a corner on the Caucasian range, and another corner juts into the Atlantic Ocean beyond Gibraltar. This stretch of territory in the United States is all,

or nearly all, good land; while the interior of the Roman Empire was composed of the sterile plain of the Mediterranean. Where else can you cut out of the globe a continuous empire equal to that which the United States occupy? Bigness is not greatness. Few Americans are of such a cheap mood as to think that because we are to be the wealthiest, we are to be the happiest of all nations. Physical size, however, is opportunity, and opportunity occupied is greatness. A territory equal in size to ours [illustrating on the map] might be cut out of the tawny shoulders of Africa, but it would be principally composed of blistering sands. You might cut it out of the mighty shoulders of Russia and Northern Asia, but it would be nearly all a stretch of sluggish streams locked in ice six months of the year, and fringed with stunted willows and birches. You might cut it out of Western and Central Asia, but a great portion of it would consist of the rainless regions of Arabia and Persia. Endeavor to cut it from Southern Asia, and the Himalayas and the sterile stretches of Thibet are in the way. Cut it from the Chinese side of Asia, and the northern portion of it would reach into the desolate Arctic plain. I thus show you by ocular demonstration that there is no place on the earth from which you could cut a continuous territory equal to that of the United States, unless it be in South America itself. There is a tract of fertile land so large that when we add it to the tract in North America we have no hesitation in agreeing with scholars that the larger number of the arable

acres of the planet are on the American side of the globe.

Mr. Gladstone says that "the distinction between continuous empire, and empire severed and dispersed over sea, is vital." (*Ibid.*, p. 180.) The American Union has a territory fitted to be the base of the largest continuous empire ever established by man. For geographical reasons we cannot well avoid commercial pre-eminence in the world. I am proud of America because of her physical capacity; I am afraid of America for the same reason: and yet, for political and geographical reasons taken together, I had rather be an American to-day than a Roman under Cæsar, or a Briton under Victoria. [Applause.]

Compared with the Hayeses and Tildens of our future, and the prizes at their disposal, Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus were schoolboys, playing with marbles. The most powerful inspirations to patriotism arise from the great scale of America; and from the same source will arise also gigantic temptations to greed and fraud. It is none too early for us to fasten attention upon the fact that the wealthiest of all nations will give enormous opportunity to capital.

American society will, no doubt, exhibit great inequalities, not so much between classes, as between conditions in life. We have no classes. Democratic society is so arranged that the poor man can rise if he have ability. The cripples and the roughs sink to a low, but by no means to a politically powerless, position in American society. There will be an unprincipled class at the bottom of our great cities,

because a man who has principle and energy can rise. Instead of having a lower class filled with a certain traditional pride in its own position, instead of having a peasantry that may possess great virtues, we are likely to have a lower class made up of roughs, sneaks, and cripples. Culls go to the bottom in free society. That is very unpopular doctrine, but it is high time to proclaim it. In the future contests between capital and labor in this country, I anticipate a fierceness and absurdity, at times, in the demands of labor, that are rarely found, even in the Old World. I anticipate also, a high, daring unscrupulousness, at times, on the part of the fifth-rate business managers, such as is rarely met with in the Old World; for nowhere on the globe will the arms of capital reach around such enormous enterprises as here.

All this, you say, is the language of an alarmist. Will you remember the Pittsburg riots, and what might have happened if they had been a little more extensive? It has been my fortune to move across the Mississippi Valley several times since I had the honor to stand here last; and I am impressed with great respect for those who say that the railway intercommunications of this nation might be put at the mercy of strikers, communists, and secret socialistic organizations, were they only supported by political sentiment enough to impede for any considerable time the action of the repressing arm of the executive in the state and nation.

America has a railway arm, and a water arm. Stretching from the Pacific, as from a shoulder, the

railway arm ends in a hand which clasps the Atlantic coast. One finger ends at Baltimore, and you call it the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; another at Philadelphia, and you call it the Pennsylvania Central; another at New York, and you call it the Erie; another at Boston, and you call it the New York Central; another plunges north of the Great Lakes, and drops down to Portland, you call it the Grand Trunk. These gigantic fingers unite in a palm, covering Ohio and Indiana, and behind the palm we have the railway wristlet at Chicago. This is the most important railway centre on the globe, and is likely to be so for many years to come. The water arm is the Mississippi, stretching northward from the Gulf, as from a shoulder, and opening its palm upon the upper part of its valley. St. Louis is the water wristlet upon that arm. Folded across the breast of our beloved America, these arms are yet full of health; but what if the absurdities of socialism, what if strikes, what if the discontent of labor and of an unemployed and indigent and ignorant population in cities, were to settle as poison in the joints of these wristlets, in a more thickly populated land? Who does not see that a million five hundred thousand voters in secret political organizations might paralyze the executive arm of the State in which a strike or riot should occur, and so might give us trouble for more than three days and an hour? This vast chain of intercommunication between the West and the East, if broken at one link, is broken everywhere for the time. These railways stretch out to millions of

working-men who live in the joints. When one little joint at Pittsburg was attacked with disease, the whole arm felt the pain; the shoulder felt it; the finger-tips felt it. You drove the disease out of the finger-tips. But it seized on many a joint. Several of the knuckles had poison in them. The wrist was only kept free of disease by a pretty severe application of the pressure of military force. It was my fortune to be in Chicago at the time when soldiers were expected from the Indian reservations; and when a general, the moment he reached the railway-station in that Western city, was seized and put upon the shoulders of the glad citizens, and carried away to his post of duty in triumph. Mobs were put down by musketry in several parts of Chicago. If that city did not tremble during the days of the Pittsburg riots, it was certainly ill at ease. Give me a million or two of voters in secret organizations, and in sympathy with strikes; give me a few desperate demagogues, calculating all the chances of politics, and ruling a quarter of our press; give me an average population of two hundred to the square mile in the United States; multiply the perishing and dangerous classes in our large cities in proportion to that increase of the size of the general population, — and I undertake to say that the wealthiest nation of the globe may be neither the happiest nor the strongest. [Applause.]

Universal suffrage is not likely to be narrowed much in our time. Even if the reading-test were applied, although it would do good, it would not

free us from the power of demagogues to lead the discontent between labor and capital into such riot as to bring at times perils upon trade. We certainly have nothing to depend upon here but public sentiment and the national will. I read in "The Atlantic Monthly" an article of high merit, on certain dangerous tendencies in American life; but in the next number I find a criticism upon it, to the effect that the only way to keep the United States in order is to reduce instruction for the masses, to reading, writing, and arithmetic. Does any thing calling itself culture dare to dream that we shall ever do that?

"Preach the gospel to every creature;" that is the command [applause], obedience to which has brought into the world most of our present political difficulties, and obedience to which, if continued, will drive them out. [Applause.] A continent of humanity is rising from under the sea, and for a while it may be a pestilential swamp; but the remedy is not to stop its rising, and crush it back into chaos. The remedy is to keep lifting it, lifting it, until all its morasses are firm, sweet land. [Applause.]

Let us fasten your attention upon the great outlines of our means of safety. They are the prevention of the formation of an impecunious class, of an unemployed class, and of an ignorant and an unprincipled class.

If we are to attack the evils which lead to the formation of these four classes, we shall do well to strike first at the tap-root — the unprincipled class, the morally uneducated class. There must cease to

be an unprincipled class, or there will be an ignorant class, and then an unemployed class, and then an impecunious class, and then an explosive class, lying under the sparks of the oratory of demagogues. There is nothing attracting more attention throughout the world to-day, than the methods of preventing the formation of these four classes in Christendom; and there is nothing but Christian endeavor that ever can prevent the formation of an unprincipled class. [Applause.] We shall not call on writers of cipher despatches to enter into that business. [Applause.]

Lord Beaconsfield stands now in the eye of the world; and, when he was younger by some thirty years, he wrote a book called "Tancred," in which many of the ideas he is now carrying out were expressed. You remember that he sends a young English lord from the Thames to the Jordan in search of remedies for the social and political evils of Europe. We have had a diffusion of liberty, Lord Beaconsfield says, and to some extent of intelligence and property; but the people are not happy. Here is the man whom Carlyle calls the Hebrew sorcerer, leading English lords and British interests as by some charm of superior blood. This aristocrat, this guide of the privileged classes, makes his English lord finally kneel down at the Holy Sepulchre and at Bethany and in Bethlehem, to obtain from the Unseen Powers a response to his prayer for guidance as to the healing of the nations. He passes through the jaws of death at Petra. Finally, in the midnight of Sinai, Tancred, as you remember, goes alone

to the spot where the law was delivered, kneels down there under the mysterious brightness of the Eastern stars, offers prayer in agony, falls at last into a trance, and, looking up, he beholds the genius of Christianity with her hands spread over the continents. The response his petition received from her was in these words, Lord Beaconsfield's own, the summit of his wisdom as a man of affairs: —

"The equality of men can only be accomplished by the sovereignty of God. The longing for fraternity can never be satisfied but under the sway of a common Father. Announce the sublime and solacing doctrine of theocratic equality." (*Tancred*, Book iv., chap. viii.)

What does this message mean? It signifies that in a just organization of politics men will encourage what God encourages, and repress what God represses. It means that in a perfect organization of society the bad man is not the equal of the good man, but that whoever is loyal to God, him God and all good men will help. In short, the ideas of democratic equality and of theocratic equality conflict now in the world; and America, going back to the ideas of our fathers, would be going back only to the ideas of Beaconsfield; only to the ideas of De Tocqueville and Burke, who tell us that men never so much need to be theocratic as when they are the most democratic; only to the ideas of Christianity from its first age to the present hour. Let us lift high above all clouds of class animosity, and political intrigue, the great ensign, bearing for its motto,

Theocratic Equality. Whenever the Church does that in America, she will see in the heavens above the banner, a Cross appearing, and above that the words: By this sign conquer! [Applause.]

II.

SECRET SOCIALISTIC SOCIETIES.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWELFTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, NOV. 11.

Was ist des freiesten Freiheit? Recht zu thun! — GOETHE: *Egmont*, Act IV.

Though we are willing to admit poverty and passion into the franchise, we are not willing to give poverty and passion the lion's share of political power over capital and knowledge. — SIR E. B. LYTTON.

II.

SECRET SOCIALISTIC SOCIETIES.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

THE regeneration of Asia is a colossal event, yet far off, but approaching us with an assured, and of late accelerated step. Great Britain is now essentially an Asiatic power. This, indeed, is the claim of the leader of the present administration in the United Kingdom; and Lord Salisbury has said that the boundaries of Turkey are in some sense the boundaries of England. It is very interesting for Americans to notice how several dazzling illusions concerning the English occupation of Cyprus, and the reform of the Turkish Empire under British political pressure, have been dissipated by the progress of events; and how the present attitude of sober thought appears to be represented by the cool proposition long ago advocated by this statesman on my left [turning towards the venerable Dr. Rufus Anderson, for many years Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions] that religious rather than political causes must be relied upon to regenerate Asia Minor.

[Applause.] I am fortunate in speaking in presence of a leader of American effort not only in Asia Minor, but in India, in China, and in Japan, and in the islands of the sea. Yours has been the advocacy of an imperialism before which all the glittering fancies of a Beaconsfield pale. [Applause.] Sir, Lord Beaconsfield is the left hand of reform in Turkey, but the work you have been doing is the right hand. [Applause.] The left hand needs the right, and the right the left; but the left needs its brother more than the right does. God grant that the two may be clasped in sympathy — British political influence opening the way for American religious effort in Turkey, and American religious effort preparing a field for those reforms which Great Britain would force upon the Sultan!

It appears to be ascertained at last by the newspapers of the United Kingdom, that a majority of the Mohammedans in Turkey are not Turks, but Arabs; that many of them are mountain tribes, almost entirely beyond the control of the Sublime Porte; and that concessions wrung from the Sultan may be entirely refused by the Kurds, Yezidees, Copts and Druses, Maronites and Turcomans, Osmanlis, Persians, Gypsies, and Hindu-Fakirs, which make up the motley mass of the population of Turkey in Asia. Whoever has lived long in the East will look with delight upon the pressure England is bringing to bear upon the Sultan, but not with perfect expectation of the swift success of this incitement to reform. It is understood thoroughly well in the East, that the

Sultan is not omnipotent, and that it is as yet impossible for him, even with the aid of England, to carry through great political changes in the face of the Koran, without inciting religious wars and setting population to massacre population.

When I look toward that portion of Asia which now draws the attention of the whole world, the most hopeful signs of progress are not, in my judgment, to be found in the British occupation of Cyprus, nor in the project of a railway from the Syrian coast to the head of the Persian Gulf, although such a road must be built before many years. The distance is only that from Boston to Chicago. My hope for Asia Minor is in a series of facts illustrating the usefulness of American teachers, physicians, and missionaries there. Indeed, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe used to say that the future of the East depended on these men, and Lord Beaconsfield himself has lately been drawing his best information from the reports of Americans in Asia. I undertake to affirm that in the mission-houses of Boston and New York, more complete and more authentic information concerning the present condition and possible future of Turkey can be found, than in the archives of the Turkish Empire itself. [Applause.]

The Halys, the Araxes, the Cydnus, the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Orontes, and the Meander yet roll on to the sea, as they did when they were the burden of classic Grecian song, and the scene of imperial events in history. The pleasant lands through which Xenophon led the retreat of the

Greeks, and Alexander and the Crusaders marched to their victories in the East, are dear to American sympathies. America gave to Syria the first scientific traveller, the first translation of the Bible into Arabic, the first printing-press, the first modern church, the first college. In 1878, Americans printed at Beirut 56,000 volumes and 11,264,027 pages in Arabic.

When Cyrus Hamlin, who in many particulars deserves to be called the father of education in Turkey, went abroad, there was not a school-book in any of the languages spoken by the people of the Empire. Now we have a long list, not only of text-books on grammar, rhetoric, logic, chemistry, surveying, history, zoölogy, mental and moral philosophy, political economy, chemistry, anatomy, physiology, and medicine, but also of the best English works on distinctively Christian truth; and these in the Armenian, the Turkish, and the Arabic tongues. There are fifteen thousand pupils in common schools which owe their origin to American influence. In the high schools and colleges founded by Americans for young men and women, fifteen hundred are already gathered. But the facts which strike public attention most at a distance are the steady shining of Robert College at Constantinople, since 1862 a beacon-light on that stormy coast between Asia and Europe; the steady flame of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, since 1865, as many pupils in it now as in Williams College, and as able a corps of professors; the gleaming of the

Central Turkey College at Aintab, behind the hills; and the effort to light up another torch — God bless the attempt! — at Harpoot, on the flashing waters of the upper Euphrates. [Applause.] These are American lighthouses on a dark Mohammedan coast, where a very hungry surf roars yet, and the beaches have been strewn with wrecks for six hundred years.

More than one American physician has laid down his life to teach Asia Minor the healing art. When Dr. West, a graduate of Yale College, after eighteen years of faithful service as a physician in Turkey, was on his death-bed, prayers were offered for his recovery in the Armenian churches and Mohammedan mosques. He had performed some fourteen hundred operations on the eye alone, and the thousands of people of all tribes and tongues who followed his body to the grave regarded him as a national benefactor.

Newspapers little by little acquire popular power under American guidance in Turkey. A slight simmering caused by American fire may be heard around the whole torpid edge of the kettle of stagnant water which we call the Turkish Empire.

Polygamy begins to be questioned. Two generations ago it was an insult to a Mohammedan to ask after the health of his wife and daughters. The position of woman in Asia Minor has been so changed in the last fifty years that not infrequently now you may hear a Mohammedan polygamist saying, "My wife knows how to read." He is proud of the fact, and

this is an immense advance. With the introduction of even a slight amount of intelligence there comes an opening for religious truth. The predecessor of commerce and of any large political reform in Turkey must be Christianity. You must diffuse conscientiousness and modern ideas in a measure through the Turkish clans before you can mould them like wax in the fingers of political power.

Do you say that Japan shows how a nation may be reformed by means of political instrumentalities alone? Native Japanese scholars tell us that the exterior of life has changed there, but that the essence of life remains yet largely unaltered. (*North American Review*, November and December, 1878, p. 406.) An immense seething is going on in Japan. That pot boils; the scum is at the top, and will be removed in due time; but we have not yet lifted the scum from the bottom of the Turkish kettle as a whole. After all application of American and British fire, the simmering is hardly audible yet, if you listen from this side of the Atlantic.

Into this population, sunk in polygamy; into those Mohammedan quarters where, as our Seward said when he came back from his tour around the world, there is no home and no social life, — the leading political party in England proposes to introduce the hands of British imperialism, pushed by the Beaconsfield cabinet. Turkey is yet very cold wax to manipulate. My feeling is that until religious efforts have been carried much further in Asia Minor than they have been heretofore, its manipulation by the strong

political grasp of Russia and England may break the wax, indeed, but not mould it into the patterns desired by those who apply the political pressure. I do not expect from political sources the regeneration of Asia; but I do expect from these strong arms the breaking down of high walls of exclusiveness, and the opening of Asia to better than political influences. Is the power that has done most to reform Asia Minor — religious effort — ready to go forward with its enterprises there? Beaconsfield opens the Turkish gate: our opportunity is great and alluring.

America has entered Asia on the west side by schools and colleges: what is she to do on the eastern? Politicians of California tell us the Chinese cannot be made Christians. The governor of California says that there are no signs that education and religious efforts are to bring the Chinese into connection with the churches in America. The same mail that brings us that intelligence from the governor brings intelligence from the men who work in the Chinese quarters, that there are at this moment in California near four hundred Chinese members of American churches. [Applause.] There is nothing the Chinese on the Pacific coast desire more than a knowledge of the English language; and to how much is this the key? A stately Chinese delegation at Washington is honorably received, and the Burlingame treaty is not yet annulled. When I listen in the Far West to the subterranean voices of public sentiment, I find that the politicians of the fourth and fifth rank and the hoodlums are against

the Chinese, but that a very different sentiment prevails with the educated public and with the best business-men of the Pacific coast. [Applause.]

Great historical forces now give America an immense opportunity to make California a door to China on the east, while Beaconsfield opens the door to America in Asia on the west. The certainty is that we have an opportunity in California to give Christianity and modern education a good reputation with thousands of Chinamen who come into immediate contact with American civilization. It is probable, that, before many years pass, cheap factories will be built in China, and our machines bought and set up there. I do not know what business-men are thinking of when they propose to drive the Chinese out of California. There will be a demand for cheap wares in China, and we can supply the Chinese trade if we are commercially skilful; otherwise we shall be undersold by the Chinese themselves. The best of our inventions will be copied by one of the most imitative nations on the globe. We can have the carrying trade of the Pacific if we want it. Let us secure the introduction into China of a good opinion concerning Christianity and education. Let us support the reform in Japan which now seems to promise to make that island the England of the Pacific. Let us deepen the moral and educational influence of America in Asia at both its eastern and western gates.

Providence, as I judge, does not intend to draw the immense arms of the British Empire back into

their shell. I confess that I have more sympathy with Beaconsfield imperialism than with a certain narrow insular parochial policy on the part of some of his English opponents, who would give up the colonies of Great Britain, and would allow the eastern larger half of the United Kingdom to dissolve if it pleases. Perhaps God means to keep in order great portions of the world, through the arms of England stretched toward the sunrise and those of America stretched toward sunset. [Applause.] I am not too bold in hoping that the time may come when English-speaking nations will keep treaties with each other; will have no war with each other without first trying arbitration as a remedy; will little by little codify their international regulations so as to have common copyrights and patent laws, and thus come slowly into a commercial alliance that will strike a universal peace through half the continents and all the seas. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

Let us imagine ourselves assembled in the ruins of the Tuileries, or within sound of the pistol-shots lately fired at one of the most paternal of emperors, or in sight of the flash of the weapon of Vera Sassulitch in St. Petersburg, and of seven similar subsequent attempts there to take the lives of Russian officials. If these scenes are too distant to produce any deep effect upon our sensibilities, will you be good enough to assemble within view of the flames of the railway-riots at Pittsburg in 1877, at a time when

at least ten American towns were kept in order by musketry.

When the railway-riots in the United States were suppressed in 1877, the work of the formation of secret labor organizations was taken up with vigor. It has progressed at such speed that within the last six months very interesting facts have become public concerning three or four important secret labor organizations more or less socialistic in their character. I am quite aware that I cannot speak from personal study of these veiled socialistic societies. Outside of the membership of these organizations, there are not twenty men in the United States who can describe them from actual observation; and yet, throwing a drag-net over all current publications, and some secret sources of information, I have been enabled to bring together a number of facts which appear to me to be very suggestive. In order to give them the proper emphasis, I must go back for a moment, to the European birth of certain American communistic parties.

Here is the great philosopher Fichte, teaching in Berlin, and he inculcates the doctrine that every man has a right to life, and therefore to the opportunity to earn a living. If a man has no opportunity to earn a living, he must steal. Fichte taught this, and that such theft is not theft, but just reprisal against society. There are certain books by Fichte, rarely read, called "The Foundation of Natural Right," and "The Closed State," and "The Reason State," and in them thoroughly revolutionary political doctrines

are taught. Fichte demanded from the state the right of labor. If a man cannot live by his labor, he is not left in the enjoyment of his absolute property, that is, his life; and is thenceforth not obligated to acknowledge the property of any other man, since the contract of the state to secure to every one his own property has been violated. Such a man must be aided, lest property become insecure. At the same time, Fichte demands that the state shall tolerate no idlers. (See HUBER, Professor J., article on Social Democracy in Germany, *International Review*, November and December, 1878, p. 803.)

Ferdinand Lasalle, the first important name among the agitators in the socialistic circles of Germany, was a pupil of Fichte. He adhered throughout life to his master's philosophical, as well as to his political theories. He never became a materialist, but was an idealist and pantheist to his death, in a duel, in 1864, at the age of thirty-eight. The German socialists now render to his memory almost divine honors. It is Fichte that speaks in Lasalle.

Karl Marx, who gathered his knowledge of communism largely from French sources, abandoned the idealism and pantheism of Hegel and Fichte, adopted a coarse materialism as his creed, adjusted to it the doctrines of Häckel, that the soul is only the result of matter in motion, that there is no immortality, and that conscience points out no authoritative code of morality. "With me," says Marx, "the ideal is simply matter transformed and translated in the human head." Religion, he thinks, is opium for the

people. There is nothing divine in man; there is no celestial spark in him, according to Marx. Saturated with this materialistic philosophy, he finds it very easy to adopt false doctrines concerning the family; very easy, after having abolished the family in his scheme of thought, to draw his trenches around inheritance, and so to abandon the ideas of the modern world concerning transmission of property, and plunge onward with his followers into the abyss of communism.

In Lasalle you find the eloquence of a cultivated Jew, and also in Karl Marx, for both these men are of Jewish descent. Lasalle obtained a very extensive education in jurisprudence, in history, and political economy, and was an exceedingly brilliant pamphleteer. He had many interviews with Bismarck, and once predicted publicly that the latter would play the part of Sir Robert Peel, and declare himself in favor of universal suffrage.

Lasalle's central demand was for governmental aid to labor. Here is the burgher class, he used to say to the peasants of Germany; when rich men wish to build railways, the State aids them. When you wish to found co-operative enterprises, why should not the State aid you? Universal suffrage ought to be proclaimed, and the fourth class should come into power. The laboring masses should found producers' associations on the largest scale. The State should secure to the creditors of such associations the payment of the interest on their capital. Thus the government should assist labor in its penury to obtain buildings,

machinery, tools, and raw material for manufactures. The producers' associations should take into the managing partnership all their hired laborers, and gradually form themselves into a credit assurance. Over-production should be prevented by the State. Lasalle thought these clumsy schemes would change the face of the world in fifty years, so that it would not be recognized as the same world. A few of his ideas, no doubt, were sound, if taken out of their combination with the rest; but his political philosophy, as a whole, was ludicrously shallow. He can hardly be called a communist, however: he was a political liberal of a dangerous type. (See MEHRING, *Die Deutsche Socialdemokratie*, Bremen, 1878.)

It is important to make a broad distinction between four styles of political sentiment concerning the distribution of property: first, co-operation, a very judicious scheme in many cases, though unsuccessful thus far in most instances where it has been tried; next, political liberalism; then, below that, socialism; and, at the bottom of all, communism.

Many who call themselves socialists are only political liberalists; for socialism, defined by its actual effects in practice, is now atheistic, and so is communism, and it is with these two lower ranges of political sentiment that I have always to do. Possibly you think that I am giving too stern accounts of the ringleaders among communists and socialists, but I undertake to say that extreme communism is so black that you cannot easily do it injustice. The Russian nihilist, the German extreme socialist,

believes in no hereafter, and in no God. One of the most popular labor-songs in Germany has this couplet: —

> "Der ist ein Lump, der eines Gottes Namen
> In Wort und Schrift demüthig anerkennt."
>
> "Only a vagabond will humbly own
> There is a God — with word and pen."

If a man is to have no future existence, and no judge, he may do as he pleases, except in so far as enlightened selfishness forbids. If our only chance is here, we may as well take what we can get. Fifteen thousand socialists in a procession passed into a cemetery in Berlin, not long ago, and twenty thousand in another procession on another occasion, and buried comrades with orations asserting that there is no immortality. Berlin held her breath when that procession moved through the streets, because she feared a riot in all the slums, and did not know what attack might be made on property. When the pistol-shots at the Emperor were fired, it is not a wonder she was alarmed.

What has happened in Germany? Why, on the death of Lasalle, certain German working-men, Frenchmen also, and Poles, and Bohemians, met at St. Martin's Hall in London. The date was 1864. They founded the International Society, now disbanded, as we are told, but which is to-day supposed to have two and a half million men in close sympathy with it, on the Continent of Europe. The headquarters of the International Society are now in New

York City. It is managed from the mouth of the Hudson and the banks of the Thames. In fact, however, the headquarters in New York are only nominally supreme. Really, the cottage of Karl Marx, an exile in London, is the throne of the International Society. He manages both its left and its right wings now. The right wing revolted from him at the Congress in Geneva in 1866, but has come over to him at last. His work on "Capital," one of the most thorough-going defences of materialism in philosophy, and socialism in political economy, is the New Testament of the International Society. As Marx proclaims himself atheist, so does this immense organization.

The International Society has been accused of bringing on the riots in Paris, when the Tuileries were burned. It has been accused of having had a plan to raise riot in the principal cities of Europe, at the time Paris was attacked by the communistic mob. I have tried to ascertain how much truth there is to these charges. In a minute investigation of the history of the International Society, perhaps the most significant document on which I have been able to put my hands is a letter from Karl Marx, written to the communists of Paris just before their rising. Marx said to the communists in April, 1871, "We are as yet but three millions at most. In twenty years we shall be fifty, an hundred millions, perhaps. Then the world will belong to us; for it will be not only Paris, Lyons, and Marseilles which will rise against odious capital, but Berlin, Munich, Dresden,

Vienna, London, Liverpool, Manchester, Brussels, St. Petersburgh, New York, — in short, the whole world. And before this new insurrection, such as history has not yet known, the past will disappear like a hideous nightmare, for the popular conflagration kindled at an hundred points at once, like an immense dawn, will destroy even its memory."

Address language of that sort to the petroleum communists who burned the Tuileries; address it to men made lawless by carelessness of their interests on the part of despotic governments; address it to men who have been taught that there is no hereafter, and that God is only a necessity, ruling through the laws of matter; address that language to millions banded in secret organizations all over the world, — and you find that it means as much mischief everywhere as occurred at Paris on a small area, if that mischief is necessary to the success of the desired revolution. I do not credit the International Society with the shedding of all the blood that was poured out at Paris; but the secret history of 1871 in Europe proves that if this organization had been strong enough to have raised riot in other large cities, as they did in Paris, they would have done so, and that what was lacking was power, and not the will. Karl Marx is credited with saying now that in the United States and in Great Britain, and perhaps in France, a reform of labor will occur without bloody revolution, but that blood must be shed in Germany and in Russia, and in Italy and in Austria.

Whatever the real or purposed crimes of the Inter-

nationals, the certainty is that the Paris Commune frightened Germany. She was alarmed yet more by the power of the socialistic party at the polls. In the German elections of 1871, the socialists as a political party polled 140,000 votes; in 1874, 350,000; in 1877, 550,000. In 1878 Bismarck took this jumping-jack, which cannot be kept down, and crushed him back into his box, shut the lid, and turned the key.

The suppression of socialistic newspapers and public meetings in Germany will be the commencement of another crusade for the formation of secret socialistic societies there. It will be the re-invigoration of all the secret socialistic and communistic organizations in Europe. Nevertheless I am not here to say that America, in Bismarck's place, might not have done substantially what he did.

Once make capital thoroughly afraid of socialists, tramps, and roughs, in the United States, and see how swift and merciless it will be in self-defence. I undertake to tell any lawless classes at the bottom of our cities, that, if they thoroughly alarm capital in this country, it will treat them with as much severity as the necessity of preserving the public peace may require. We shall keep order roughly here, if necessary; for all Americans are capitalists, or expect to be. [Applause.] Alarm property; let it be understood that there is real danger in Chicago and New York and St. Louis from socialistic secret organizations; let strikers and communists and demagogues grasp the throat of our great railway intercommuni-

cations, — and, when capital is thoroughly aroused, it will not be held back here as it has been sometimes in Europe, by a feeling that, after all, the rioters have been abused. Thiersch, in his great work on the Christian Commonwealth, says that in 1830 and in 1848 in Europe many a ruler was made inefficient by a secret feeling that the working-classes had not had their rights. Kings tremble on their thrones when they feel that they have no right to be kings. In America the people feel they have a right to be kings, and they will exercise their right. [Applause.] There will be no handwriting on the wall here for Belshazzar to look at, and therefore his knees will never smite together. Of course a republic can be attacked for three days and an hour. A republic in history is like a raft on the sea: you cannot sink it, but you are apt to put your foot through it into the waves. A monarchy is like a man-of-war: bad shots between wind and water hurt it exceedingly; there is danger of capsizing. But democracy is a raft. You cannot easily overturn it. It is a wet place, but it is a pretty safe one; and we are on it, and we are to have order here; and we will build up the raft under our feet until there is dry standing-room for us all. [Applause.]

If there should be an election in the United States showing that there is serious danger from socialistic secret political organizations, what would happen? Why, from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate we should have a propagandism of sound ideas, such as in the last six weeks glorified Massachusetts from the Cape to the Berkshire Hills. [Applause.]

There was a shamefully large vote in Massachusetts, however, for utterly absurd political ideas. The cities of this State elected an inflationist governor. This occurs in the green young days of Massachusetts, when, as yet, her factory-populations are comparatively content. There is no posture of safety in politics in this country, except that which looks forward to a third and fourth centennial, and makes preparations in advance for perils of which, as yet, we hardly see the outlines.

Germany, with the pistols of assassins at the breast of her Emperor, concludes that the evils of suppressing socialism are fewer than those of allowing it freedom of speech. Russia, under an emperor who has manumitted the serfs, is of a similar mind. A deep growl comes up from the Nihilist atheistic party in Russia; and the emperor is told over and over that, if he does not want reforms from below, he must institute them from above.

A remnant of the Parisian Commune exists in America. If it were worth while to discuss the small influence of these desperadoes, I might pause to describe the pestilent organization in New York now headed by Edmond Megy, a ruffian who assisted prominently in the murder of Archbishop Darboy and other hostages at La Roquette, in Paris, in 1871. For the crime of another murder the villain had been condemned to twenty years in the French galleys. After burning the palace of the Legion of Honor, he fled to London, and then to New York. He may now be seen, not infrequently, presiding

over banquets where ribald songs are sung, all things sacred blasphemed, and foul and ferocious speeches, in support of communism and socialism, made by drunken men to drunken audiences. Justus Schwab of the socialistic labor party, and Megy, are excellent friends; and when lately the latter was arrested, the former procured him bail, and conducted his defence. Ollivier, Hauser, Robinet, members of the Paris Commune, are fellow-workers with Megy in New York. The most frequent inculcation of their newspaper, "La Centralization," is, "Use lead if you would get bread."

The socialistic labor party in the United States was founded by German political refugees some five years ago, and is now supposed to contain twenty-five thousand members who can vote. Here, in the language of its leaders, is a brief statement of its aims: —

"The entire overthrow of the present social system; the abolition of all personal property in land and other means of production, and their cession to the state; the introduction of the co-operative plan in labor, so that every laborer may be a partner in every factory or workshop; the compulsory limitation of the hours of labor to eight hours a day or less, according to the requirements of the unemployed workmen; the regulation of the prices of labor by arbitration between the employer and the employed until the co-operative system is introduced; compulsory education, and the opening of all colleges and universities free to all classes; the aboli-

tion of savings banks; the abolition of direct taxation, and the institution of a scaled income-tax, and the taxation of all church-property."

Dr. Donai, Dr. Stiebling, and R. Sorge assisted in founding this party, and its most prominent New York member is the notorious Justus Schwab. This organization or party, as you please to call it, has headquarters at Cincinnati. If you go to that city, and stay three or four days under the smoke of its industrious chimneys, and pick up the eccentric socialistic newspapers which appear in the beer-saloons, you will find a strange atmosphere about you, in the moral as well as the physical world. The soot in the physical air is quite noticeable, and here is a specimen of the soot in the political air. It is a labor-song, directed against a leading American newspaper, and published with editorial approval: —

"Whitelaw Reid had best beware!
Hurrah!
Or the working-men will make him stare!
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah
Let Whitelaw Reid and his pals but dare
The freeman's right to vote to impair,
And their Gatling guns and sabres bare
Will neither save their hides or hair.
For the voter's right our arms we'll bare,
And knives will flash in the angry air!
Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!"

"What is the oppressed laborer to do now? Let him join with his fellows, and light the fires of a glorious revolution, that will rid the world of so many

useless aristocrats, and make America really, as well as in name, 'the land of the free.' Up with the red flag, and down with aristocracy!"

You find several obscure, but not wholly powerless sheets in Cincinnati, filled with these cheerful doctrines.

Probably the most important of the workingmen's secret societies in America is what is called "The Knights of Labor." As to this organization there is very little public information. The leading newspapers of New York City claimed, last August, that there were then eight hundred thousand men in it. Certain police agencies which have been set at work in Chicago have investigated this society; and when I came last summer upon their records, I was greatly interested to notice how the information published at New York was confirmed by that collected at Chicago. Some of the sharpest detectives on the continent have investigated this society within the last six months. It appears that the Knights of Labor are really a large and perhaps a formidable secret organization. The names of its leading officers, its pass-words and oaths, have been published. It is not socialistic, but, under the influence of demagogues, might probably be led to organize wide-spread strikes and riots with little cause.

When a great political party arises, making a financial issue of an insane sort, the multitudinous secret lodges of all kinds are under strong temptation to unite. Even Justus Schwab in New York has a certain influence with the rougher class of voters. I

know that in New York City an investigation was lately made as to the socialist labor party; and it was found that only eight hundred men in that city, and five hundred in Brooklyn, belonged to its organizations. Of these, a thousand were Germans, and of these three-quarters were saloon-keepers. Not more than half a hundred Americans were enrolled. There were only a few Irish. But the Knights of Labor are largely under American control. According to their own statement, what they mean is to protect labor against capital, and to do this, if necessary, by inaugurating simultaneous strikes in different parts of the country, especially at railway-centres; and by acquiring and using political power to cripple capital; and support the interests of the workingmen.

You will probably hiss me on this platform for several things that I mean to say in favor of labor, and I shall be very glad to be hissed first for what I intend to say in favor of capital. For one, I want the question concerning capital and labor settled, not according to the ideas of labor on the one hand, nor according to those of capital on the other; but according to the ideas of the Christian commonwealth, which are very different from those of either party. [Applause.]

The Knights of Labor held a national convention at Reading, adopted a constitution for the whole country, disbanded, and nobody knew they had met. The fact was ascertained by going back upon their record, after detectives were set to work. One thing

that brought out the character of the Knights of Labor was their initiation of Catholics, and the refusal of the initiated Romanists to be perfectly frank in the confessionals. In Western Pennsylvania, a Romish priest found it difficult to obtain information concerning the Knights of Labor. A man in the confessional was under some obligation higher than that binding a Romanist to his Church; and of course the priest found occasion to investigate the whole topic. By and by it was announced that the sacraments would be denied to any Romanist bound by an oath of higher obligation than the tie which unites a Catholic to his mother Church. This, of course, produced commotion among Romanists; and they, for a time, were slow to join the Knights of Labor. A chief in a central committee in that organization, Mr. Stevens, issued a secret circular, announcing that Bishop O'Hara, in Pennsylvania, had seen the ritual, and approved the order. Bishop O'Hara had said nothing of the sort; and this unauthorized use of his name caused him to announce that he could not and would not recognize any body of men as worthy of the sacraments who were connected with an oath-bound society. The Knights then ordered that the oath of secrecy should not be binding on a member in the confessional. Many Romanists have taken this oath, but the Catholic Church opposes secret organizations, and has kept thousands out of them. Here and now, in the presence of a Protestant audience, containing as much intelligence, perhaps, as any other Protestant gathering that meets weekly, on the

continent, I for one, beg leave to thank the Romish Church for its attitude concerning secret socialistic societies. [Applause.]

The trades-unions of the United States are now not many of them socialistic, but they desire political power, and will accept aid from socialistic secret organizations in obtaining it. The Nationals will do the same, and have done so already. It is a fact of high importance that the great secret effort of socialistic agitators and politicians is to capture in their net the trades-unions.

On June 1, 1878, according to the report of your Bureau of the Statistics of Labor, you had 28,508 skilled and unskilled laborers, male and female, seeking and in want of work, and out of employment, in Massachusetts. If you estimate the number of the unemployed in the United States according to the proportion in Massachusetts, they will not reach three millions, as the socialists assert, but they amount to nearly two. It is said that the pestilent financial heresies now in the air have succeeded at the polls wherever secret organizations have surrounded the ballot-box, and that one reason why they were not more successful in New England is that our territory is not undermined yet by these societies.

A million and a half of voters in secret organizations, spreading steadily under the soil; two million unemployed people in the United States; and demagogues searching north, south, east, and west for pedestals! I foresee, not ruin in the American national

future under universal suffrage, but painful political and social crises, unless by public discussion, by justice, by Christian philanthropy, by the central ideas of the Christian commonwealth, we prevent the formation of an unprincipled, an ignorant, and an unemployed class; bring the controlling power in politics into loyalty to sound ideas; estimate men neither by the bags of gold nor by the windy socialistic philosophies on which they may happen to ride, but by character; and proclaim all classes friends who are loyal to the Throne which has foundations, and all enemies who are opposed as rebels and as traitors to that supreme Government. [Applause.]

III.

RICH AND POOR IN FACTORY TOWNS.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, NOV. 18.

Families of wealth are not sure whether they may not, in the next or in the third generation, themselves sink to the proletarian condition. — SCHÆFFLE: *Quintessence of Socialism.*

O diese Zeit hat fürchterliche Zeichen,
Das Niedre schwillt, das Hohe senkt sich nieder,
Als könnte Jeder nur am Platz des Andern
Befriedigung verworrner Wünsche finden,
Nur dann sich glücklich fühlen, wenn nichts mehr
Zu unterscheiden wäre, wenn wir alle,
Von *einem* Strom vermischt dahingerissen. — GOETHE.

III.

RICH AND POOR IN FACTORY TOWNS.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

As the agent of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice was engaged in the performance of his duties at Newark not many years ago, he was stabbed twice by a criminal who had been making an infamous use of the mails under eighteen different aliases and through fifteen post-offices. The second blow of the dagger laid open a great flesh-wound in the face, severed four arteries, and came very near being fatal. (*First Annual Report of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice*, p. 9.) It is with men of the type of this assassin that the majority of the National Liberal League of infidels have now publicly struck hands in demanding the total repeal of the laws which repress in the United States the most abominable traffic known to the leprous outlawry of the ghouls and ogres of the city slums.

Utterly incredible as the news may appear to excellent people, who are slow to believe reports of ghastly

crime, and too busy to attend to the obscure performances of infidel conventions, the following facts are all matters of painful public notoriety in Boston, and susceptible of the most explicit proof from the pages of the rationalistic newspapers and official publications which I hold in my hands:

1. An infidel lecturer has lately been arrested in Boston, and sent to Dedham Jail, for making an immoral use of the mails.

2. A meeting in sympathy with this public criminal was held by infidels and Free Religionists in Boston in Faneuil Hall.

3. At the National Convention of infidel Liberal Leagues at Syracuse in October, a large majority of the one hundred and thirty-eight representatives of cultured free thought present there elected a set of officers known to be in favor of the total repeal of the present United States laws against the immoral use of the mails.

4. A minority at this convention seceded, and formed a new National Liberal League, of which the object is to make the postal laws loose, rather than to repeal them, so far as they touch the topic of the distribution of infamous matter.

5. Men under indictment for crimes against the postal laws were prominent at the Syracuse Convention, and their sentiments are reflected in the action of the majority.

6. The lawlessness of the majority is officially denounced by the loose minority in terms too scathing to be publicly cited.

7. Official and unofficial authorities agree that the public language of the men and women representing the majority of the Infidel Convention of Syracuse was unreportably odious, immoral, and vile.

8. According to the official confession of the minority, therefore, the principal branch of the National League is now in alliance with criminals of the most low and infamous type.

It is evident from the New York press and Syracuse journals, and from the testimony of this infidel paper which I hold in my hands, that the language of the defenders of the successful majority of the infidel leagues at Syracuse was so infamous, that it could not be reported, published, and sent through the mails, without subjecting the newspapers thus disseminating it to prosecution.

At Syracuse the members of the National Infidel League, so far as their principal organization is concerned, transformed themselves into a national lepers' league of moral-cancer planters. [Applause.]

There are several things that injure a man more than to cut his throat. An honorable daughter dead is mourned less than a daughter dishonored. I know a school of superb culture, a temple of sanctity, where three hundred young women are gathered under the very best religious influences and the loftiest educational incitements. I have wandered up and down the halls of the palatial building in which their instruction is given; I have admired the works of art there, and had occasion to study minutely the enthusiasms for art and social improve-

ment and religious usefulness which fill that school, and vivify its lofty regard for intellectual culture. But this institution publishes no catalogue. Why? Go to the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, to the Boston Society, or to the committees which have been organized to suppress vice at Providence and New Haven and Cincinnati and St. Louis and Chicago, and you will find that school-catalogues are made the lattice-work through which moral lepers and assassins secretly, at night, under the cover of the mails, throw their poison into seminaries of all grades. *It is a terrific sign of the times when shrewd men of affairs, conducting a great school, dare not publish a catalogue.* The criminals whom the National League of infidels encourages make this caution necessary. I show you the caution in actual exercise. Within twenty miles of Boston the resplendent school I have described stands in its stately park; and within fifty rods of this platform is a hall, the most honored in this city, where a meeting was held in sympathy with the poisoner of youth who is now in Dedham Jail. The thoughts which these facts suggest cannot be publicly expressed; but, if they did not incite to moral rage, our apathy would itself deserve to be smitten with thunderbolts.

Daniel Webster once found Faneuil Hall shut to himself and his political friends. A hundred signatures opened it last summer to sympathizers with a moral-cancer planter! All your reputable press was against the meeting. Boston, so far as she noticed any such gathering of apologists for a convicted crim-

inal of the most infamous type, shuddered at it. This city believes in free speech and the right of assembly, but not in moral assassins in masks. Is it quite decent or safe to give the enemies of Boston an opportunity to injure its good name? Is freedom of speech to be carried so far that speech becomes so free that it could not be reported and sent through the mails without being actionable at law?

A small minority, less than a quarter, of the Syracuse convention, seceded from it, and protested against the action of the majority; and this minority thinks itself very virtuous because it wishes to have a little restriction put upon the immoral use of the mails. But, after all, what does even the seceding party want? The editor of the special organ of that party drew up and submitted to the proper committee a series of resolutions, and he prints them in columns now before me; and one of their first requirements is "that no indecencies of a merely incidental or occasional character, *however* reprehensible and deserving of public censure on moral or literary grounds, shall cause a forfeiture of the freedom of the press, or constitute a just reason for legal prosecution or punishment." That is the style of law the minority wants, — a law with loop-holes in it large enough to drive a coach-and-four through. This same set of resolutions asks for "a new legislative provision requiring that the *entire* publication, for circulating which through the mails any person shall be prosecuted in the United States courts, shall be

set forth in the indictment." Who does not see what these provisions mean?

There were two parties at Syracuse, this paper alleges, — one for repeal, and one for reform. A more accurate statement would be, that there were two parties there, — one for lawlessness, and one for looseness. [Applause.] There was a party there in favor of no law, and there was a party there in favor of a coach-and-four loop-hole law. I respect the remnants of virtue in this little minority. The editor of this paper says that when the minority resolved to secede, their action was a great and to him "unexpected" protest, and "filled him with awe." The epic dignity with which the collisions between the petty factions of this small convention are described in this official sheet reminds one of Horace's description of the trip of the country mouse and the city mouse to Rome.

> "Jamque tenebat
> Nox medium cœli spatium."
>
> *Satires*, Book II., vi.

In language approvingly cited from the brave "Syracuse Standard" into this official organ of free thought (Nov. 7, 1878, p. 535), I read that "Rivers of Boston, now resting under indictment for the sale of infamous literature, urged a square expression of the congress in favor of his views. He wanted the United States authorities rebuked for what they had done. Wakeman of New York, a supporter of Rivers, was more politic, and hesitated about giving the mi-

norority such open cause for disruption. He, and others who stood with him, feared the odium which would fall upon them if the minority should secede, on the ground that they could not live with those who sustained and fostered the sale of infamous literature, and sought to repeal the laws making the sale a crime. Wakeman believed the majority had better make concession, rather than be compelled to stand alone before the public; and hence the committee on resolutions fixed up a compromise that the postal-law question should not be touched by either party."

The scheme was that nothing should be said on the subject for another year; which means, that on this stupendous theme, this blazing matter of common morality and decency, a convention of the representatives of cultured free thought was not to know its own mind for a year! A promising compromise was patched up on this precious basis; and then the majority, violating it, elected a board of officers composed, according to the official statement, of men "known or believed to be strongly in favor of repeal, as opposed to reform, of the postal law of 1873." Thereupon, when a vote had been taken electing a president by the majority of seventy-eight votes, leaving only fifty-one to the man who represented the minority, the latter seceded, and thirty-four of them signed a protest. A few more names were obtained afterwards; and the result of all is, that there are now two liberal national leagues.

The local leagues which furnished the majority at Syracuse are scattered through many States, and their lecturers can be relied upon to teach the abominable doctrines of the majority. The evil of such inculcations is not a small one, and frankness concerning it will be justified by all thoughtful friends of moral order. At Toronto, not long since, and at Chicago, I met representatives of infidelity distributing documents at the doors of my lecture-halls. I have heard of them in St. Louis and in Cincinnati, and in Rochester, Baltimore, Washington, and New York.

In this same official organ (*Ibid.*, p. 536), I find language cited from the faithful Syracuse press, that I dare not read. You would drive me out of the door yonder if I were to quote language that was uttered at Syracuse by Free Religionist women. "But one question arose for consideration, and that related exclusively to infamous literature. By persistent as well as quiet effort, a majority of the league was composed of free-lovers and infamous-literature defenders; and from first to last they were determined upon making a point in favor of its free circulation. Their remarks sometimes almost polluted the atmosphere of the opera-house." The sense of what remains of this official extract is, that if Thomas Carlyle's advice concerning raw sceptics had been followed, and the majority had been covered under a glass bell, the atmosphere there would have caused them to perish in their own corruption. [Applause.]

God be thanked that behind this scheme of infidelity for the immoral use of the mails, there is most significantly little financial strength! It is officially stated (*Ibid.*, p. 437) that the balance of money which will remain in the treasury after paying all bills, had been "carefully gathered and husbanded for the cause of State secularization," and that it will now "be turned over to the cause of repeal," that is, of lawlessness. The infidel Liberal Leagues have had an organization more than six years. They have swept the Pacific coast; they have officers at work in the Mississippi Valley; they have used skilful men as agents. Some of them have ability; I suppose some of them have wealth. But after more than five years of effort, sweeping the whole broad floor of this Union, there occurs this division, and the amount of plunder to be carried off amounts to "nearly two hundred dollars." Heaven be thanked for this phenomenal impecuniosity!

Large sums are now required by the societies of Boston and New York for the suppression of vice, and are called for by such men as Howard Crosby, Dr. William M. Taylor, Stephen H. Tyng, Jr., William E. Dodge, and Dr. John Hall. I might name in a similar connection a dozen of the prominent leaders of thought of the great metropolis and in Boston, and of all the religious creeds.

God has said that whoever offends one of his little ones, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he drowned in the depths of the sea. Is there no granite left in Massachusetts

of the old-fashioned sort, out of which millstones can be made for the necks of cancer-planters? [Applause.]

Both these schismatic organizations, the majority and the minority, have presidents in Boston. I have in my hand the list of officers of both bodies, and I find that the chief of them are from this cultured city. They are nearly all men unknown to me; I do not know even the philosophical schoolboy who edits this paper. The finance committee, composed of three members, is from Chelsea and Boston. This is the party of looseness, as opposed to that of lawlessness. This is the minority, which, turning State's-evidence, now denounces the majority, and so gives us at last official authority to proclaim as an indisputable historical fact that the word "Infamy" is written across the forehead of the majority of the Syracuse representatives of infidelity on this continent. [Applause.]

> Do but behold yon poor and starvèd band,
> And your fair show shall suck away their souls,
> Leaving them but the shales and husks of men.
> There is not work enough for all our hands;
> Scarce blood enough in all their sickly veins
> To give each naked curtlè-axe a stain.
>
> SHAKESPEARE, HENRY V., Act iv., Scene 2.

[Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

God grant that the day may never come when American society shall be divided between the unemployed rich and the unemployed poor, the former a handful, the latter a host! If in Europe large parts of society are thus separated from each other to-day, the fact is not solely the result of the existence there of kings and aristocrats. It is a consequence, at least in part, of influences operating on this side of the Atlantic, as well as on the other, and especially of the great laws of manufacturing populations, which produce under democracies as well as in aristocracies, if allowed to operate untutored by Christian philanthropy, a rich employing class, and a poor operative class. I need only to invoke the visible presence before this assembly, of the lofty spirits of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Shaftesbury, to suggest sufficiently the historic perils of congregated labor under the factory system in large towns. Would that in the air above every manufacturing centre of New England, Robert Peel and Lord Shaftesbury, colossal and admonitory in archangelic stature, might each stand to teach, with one hand pointing toward Old England, and the other stretched as a shield over New England, the methods of avoiding here the perils which have arisen there!

What are the causes which separate the rich and poor in manufacturing populations?

Two great principles rule modern manufactures. They are: —

1. That subdivision of labor increases the skill of the workman; and,

2. That, other things being equal, the larger a manufacturing establishment, the greater the profits.

These are the organizing laws which explain most of the phenomena of manufacturing populations, and will continue to explain them for ages to come, although it is only in the last age that the laws can be said to have been discovered.

On the one hand, it is the principle of subdivision of labor which confines the modern operative more and more to some single detail, the work upon which, after it becomes a habit, calls into activity only a few of the mental powers, has in it no variety, and so does not develop the mind by tasking it at different points; is in itself of only petty importance, and so excites little enthusiasm in labor, and even little pride of skill. De Tocqueville, in a celebrated passage, discussing the modern science of manufactures, asks what can be expected of the human intelligence, when, year after year, for twelve or ten hours a day, it is occupied in the single detail of making heads for pins. (*Democracy in America*, vol. ii., Book II., chap. xx.) The principle of subdivision of labor has an inherent tendency to dwarf the operative mind, unless the most powerful stimulants are applied outside of factory-hours, to develop the faculties which the manufacturing work never calls into activity. Outside of factory-hours! Those words are lightly uttered only by the inexperienced in operative life. Outside of factory-hours there are, properly speaking,

for operative populations tasked ten or twelve hours a day in close apartments, no hours at all. The labor of the mill or of the mine, which goes on in all weathers with the invariability of the sun in its courses, is not to be compared with agricultural labor, interrupted by the changes of the seasons, and even of the daily sky. Twelve hours or ten in a factory, and then three hours or two enthusiastic pursuit of mental culture! No eyes yet born are destined to see that wonder grow common. There are a few mental and physical constitutions vigorous enough to combine these two sets of hours, and so to counteract the narrowing mental effect of labor for years at one unvaried mechanical detail. But the mass of operative populations can be expected to exhibit no such physical, to say nothing of such mental and moral, vigor. They are swept remorselessly under the wheels of subdivision of labor, and long hours. I put the question to persons here who have had any experience of long walks, how much vigor is left to a child tending a machine, and walking fifteen or twenty miles a day, or a woman tending a machine, and walking thirty a day; and day after day, six days in a week? In women and children, who constitute nearly half of operative populations, how much life is left for mental culture, after ten hours severe labor in a mill? But subdivision of labor increases skill; increase of skill increases productiveness; increase of productiveness increases profits; and long hours are the scythes that reap the gain. This is the law of manufactures; and it is only say-

ing what is evident in the nature of things, and no less evident in the condition of all manufacturing populations where factory occupation has been hereditary for three or four generations that the tendency of the system is to make the operative class inferior, and the inferior yet more inferior. Emerson stood at the door of the factories of Great Britain, and wrote that society is to be admonished of the mischief of the division of labor, by the fact that, in three generations, the robust rural Saxon had degenerated in the mills, to the Leicester stockinger, and to the imbecile Manchester spinner, far on the way to be spiders and needles. (EMERSON, R. W., *English Traits*, chap. x.)

On the other hand, the operation of the principle that, other things being equal, the larger a manufacturing establishment, the greater the profits, tends to call out all the capabilities of the minds that lead and organize in manufactures. The larger the manufactory, the greater the profits, other things being equal; and so, in the great enterprises of manufactures, you must have able men. The master is more and more like a general, and must be capable of large combinations and wide foresight. His business tasks all his faculties, makes him abler, gives him social rank. The occupation requires capacity in the master class, attracts capacity, and tasks capacity. Men of education are often drawn into manufactures by the allurement of the size of the enterprises involved. The tension of mind, and the variety of its applications, in the conductor of a large establish-

ment, are at all points a contrast with the condition of the mind of the operative. By the necessary operation of the two great laws of manufactures, the master is elevated; but the operative, little tasked intellectually, and leading a monotonous life, becomes socially lowered, and dependent more and more upon the organizing mind above him. These are not peculiarities of Old England. They belong to all manufacturing populations, in New England or elsewhere. There is nothing, I claim, in American institutions, that will prevent here the subtle operation of these two great laws. Inevitably, therefore, as the effect must follow the cause, the system of modern manufactures in large populations tends to produce a superior class and an inferior.

New England is explicable by these two laws. Wherever you go into a large American factory-town, you find these classes in formation. Old England is explicable by these laws. I went through Manchester, in England, carefully studying the poor. Sometimes I walked by open doors, where the filth inside the threshold was as deep as outside. I saw poultry picking up their living not oftener outside than inside these doors. One evening, on the top of an omnibus, I went out into the suburbs of Manchester, and came upon palaces; immense private establishments, with grounds kept in the best English styles. Whose houses are these? They are the masters' houses; manufacturers' homes. This is the country-seat of Sir So-and-So, who owns such-and-such acres of factories in Manchester, under the soot

yonder. Where do his workmen live? They must live close to their work, under the eaves of the factories; and I found I had been studying the homes of the operatives employed by these very princes and masters. Skilled operatives' houses in Manchester are often very comfortable, but I am speaking of the condition of the lowest-paid laborers. I saw children in mop-rag costume, and with hardly enough of that to cover their nakedness.

There was before me in Manchester what does not yet exist in New England, — an hereditary class of operatives. Little by little men had gone down to the squalid condition in hovels where I saw children fight over a piece of fish dropped from a peddler's cart. I have stood there myself, and peeled an orange, and the peel was picked up swiftly from the sidewalk, and eaten by hungry children. I could fire an arrow in the street over sixty or eighty children that looked as if they had been unwashed from birth. Within a cannon-shot stood these palaces of the manufacturers. That contrast is seen all through the Old World; and it results from these great principles, that subdivision of labor increases the skill of the operative, and that the larger the establishment the greater the profits. The man who manages the great establishment may become rich, and can take care of himself; the man who makes the pin-head loses capacity to do any thing else. If he loses the opportunity to make that pin's-head, he knows no other trade, and may suffer terribly before he can learn one, and find another place to work.

What else did I see in Manchester? Near one of the great factories was a long brick building; and I saw women pass it, and hand their infants in at the gate. When six o'clock came in the afternoon, I saw these same women coming back, and receiving out of that gate their babes. What sort of housekeeping is that? In the great factory-towns in the Old World you often find an establishment near the factory for the care of very young children while the mothers are in the mills. The girl that must go to the mills, and work ten hours a day, after she is sixteen, is not likely to be a perfect housewife. The certainty is, that an hereditary factory population is not the best place in which to seek good housekeepers. In the Old World it is very well known that social rank is lost partly because the art of keeping a home neat is lost. But how is it lost? Because children must work in the mills to eke out the earnings of the parents. The mother must be bound to the looms, although she ought to be at home taking care of the children. Her babes she must pass into an establishment at the door of the mill to be taken care of while she is earning something to feed them when she returns. We have seen little of this arrangement yet in New England; but who knows that trade here will not follow these precedents? The operation of the two great laws of manufactures can be foreseen with certainty. We find these laws spinning the two contrasted classes in our New-England towns. As years go on, and the first effects themselves become causes, these laws tend to make

the superior yet more superior, and the inferior yet more inferior. I am not denying the advantages of manufacturing eminence, but stating, as a motive for public caution, what political economists have long acknowledged as the disadvantages of such eminence.

Even John Stuart Mill, using England as a lens, and putting behind that telescope the best eyes of political economy, writes a deliberate chapter (*Political Economy*, Book V., chap. vii.) on the Probable Future of the Laboring Classes, and goes so far as to say that he finds the prospect hopeful, only because he expects the entire system of wages to be superseded by that of co-operation. But the system of wages is interwoven with the whole structure of modern life, and does not show a tendency to vanish out of history like a morning cloud. The accumulations of wealth fall chiefly to employers, and not to operatives. The distance between the two classes is a result of deep causes arising from the two great laws of the manufacturing system. It is out of these laws that there inevitably originates what has been called in modern times a manufacturing aristocracy. De Tocqueville, using this phrase, compares the territorial aristocracy of former ages with the manufacturing aristocracy of to-day, and finds the former superior to the latter, because it was bound by law, or thought itself bound by usage, as the latter is not, to come to the relief of its serving-men, and to succor them in their distresses (*Democracy in America*, vol. ii., Book II., chap. xx.; also vol. ii., Book IV., chap. v.) I see no charm in democracy that can alter

the nature of things. The subtle laws of subdivision of labor, and of size of establishment, apply to manufactures in New England as well as in Old England. Under some restraints from the nature of our institutions, they will, notwithstanding, produce here as there an employing class and an operative class, and perpetually tend to make the distance between rich and poor in manufacturing populations wider and wider. De Tocqueville thought that the friends of democracy should keep their eyes anxiously fixed upon the operation of these two laws; and that, if ever a permanent inequality of conditions again penetrated into the world, it might be predicted that this is the gate by which it will enter.

In all this I am not blaming capital altogether, nor am I defaming labor. I know how the most of what I have said applies to Old England rather than to New England. And yet British factory-laws are certainly superior to ours. Skilled operatives have good social position in New England. It is the glory of society here, that ability is reverenced behind the loom as well as in the pulpit and at the bar. The dazzling outburst of mechanical inventiveness in America is largely a flame springing up from the skilled operative population. More often than you think, a startling invention comes from the operative, and the patent and profit of it go to the master. [Applause.] "The London Times" says that Greece did not possess in statuary such skill as America exhibits in machines to abridge labor. This Greek element in our civilization lies chiefly in the unskilled operative class.

Nevertheless I ask persons here who are not under the influence of local prejudice, to contrast the foreign operative as he arrives on our shores with the American unskilled operative from some farm of New England.

Contrast the present operative population of Lowell with the working-people who fifty years ago, in that same city, published "The Lowell Offering." I had shown to me the other day a complete copy of that production, and was assured by a man who knew many of the young women who wrote for it, that the articles were really produced by the persons whose names they bear. It is a classic in New England literature, this "Lowell Offering," wholly composed of productions of operatives in the mills. Many of them were daughters of New-England farmers. Some of them came from the homes of professional men. Daughters of clergymen were among the authors. It is a matter of notoriety, that the operative populations of Lowell, Fall River, and Lawrence, and other similar towns, have become largely foreign.

When you contrast the general condition of the foreign-born population with that of the American, you should not attribute the difference wholly to the evil effects of the political institutions in the Old World. The two great laws of manufactures have produced most of the traits of the operative class in Great Britain. Even the Englishman has been degraded in England by factory-life. You say that the low-class operative here is usually a foreigner! We should be more moved if American

blood were thus degraded. But in England it is English blood that deteriorates. In the poor whites of the South we have proof that American blood can deteriorate also. Our blood is as capable of deterioration as that of the English by unfavorable conditions of factory-life. I remember pacing hours and hours up and down the banks of the canals at Manchester, and watching the mill-hands come and go at noon and night. Once I fell into conversation with a group of working-men, English to their finger-tips, all their ways English, and yet they reminded me of the poor whites of the South. Pallid, half-grown, they had been brought up almost from infancy in the factory-rooms, and gone to their labor without enthusiasm. They talked of the monotony of their work. "It is the same thing day by day, sir; it's the same little thing," said one man to me. "One little, little thing, over and over and over. We are weary when we get home. We are so tired, we do not feel like reading. We sometimes go to the beer-shop, where there is light and cheer."

You say that the operative class, if allowed shorter hours a day, would ultimately patronize the beer-shops all the more; but that is not the proper inference to draw from the seven years of investigation of your Massachusetts Bureau. I hold in my hand a summary of its magnificent work for the last seven years, and I find your officers stating most distinctly that the mass of the operative population in New England do not spend large sums of money upon vice. [Applause.]

3. It is proved by the careful statistical investigations of the Massachusetts Bureau, that the wages of children are absolutely necessary to the support of most families of working-men, and that the trouble with the operative class in New England begins now precisely where it did in Old England, with the forcing of the children into the factory too early. [Applause.] Among the causes which separate rich and poor in manufacturing populations is the circumstance that the child of the operative is needed to support his father and mother, and so is crowded into factory-work early, while the child of the master can go to school until he is twenty-one or older. After long delay, Massachusetts has passed a law that no child under ten years of age shall be employed in factories, and that no child under fourteen shall be so employed unless during the year next preceding such employment he shall have attended some public or private day-school at least twenty weeks. (*Chap.* 52, *Acts of* 1876.)

How well is this most righteous law executed? Why, turning over a Boston newspaper last Saturday in a railway-car, I came upon this typical instance: —

"Truant-Officer John M. Newhall was engaged yesterday in distributing among the shoe-manufacturers a copy of the statutes of the Commonwealth concerning the employment of children. The truant-officer has been instructed to see that the law is strictly enforced. About thirty manufactories were visited yesterday, and in nearly all were found

children which were employed contrary to the provisions of the statute. The statute provides a penalty of not less than twenty dollars nor more than fifty dollars for each offence. In one manufactory on Market Street, which the truant-officer visited, the manufacturer expressed his contempt for the statute, and threw it away, at the same time stating that it did not amount to any thing, and that the 'employment scare' came around periodically. The shoe-manufacturer was advised to read the statute. In this shop were found six children which were employed contrary to the statute." (*Boston Journal*, Nov. 16.)

Who is to blame here, the parent or the manufacturer? Look a little more closely into this vital matter. Open the cool statistics of your Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, and read the deductions drawn from the complete returns of earnings and expenditures received from four hundred families in this State in 1875. Never before, in the history of the world, were so many budgets of the poor opened to public gaze. The incisive conclusions officially reached in Massachusetts as to earnings are these: —

(1) That, in the majority of cases, working-men in this Commonwealth do not support their families by their individual earnings alone.

(2) That the amount of earnings contributed by wives, generally speaking, is so small, that they would save more by staying at home than they gain by outside labor.

(3) That fathers rely, or are forced to depend, upon their children for from one-quarter to one-third of the entire family earnings.

(4) That children under fifteen years of age supply, by their labor, from one-eighth to one-sixth of the total family earnings.

(5) That there has been found no evidence or indication that working-men spend large sums of money extravagantly or for bad habits.

(6) That without children's assistance, other things remaining equal, the majority of these families would be in poverty or debt. (See the *History of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts*, by CHARLES F. PIDGIN: Boston, 1876, pp. 83, 84.)

You never will understand the manufacturing population of New England or Old England until you fasten your attention upon the manner in which the necessity of child-labor chokes the early education of the operative. Children under fifteen years of age supply by their labor from one-eighth to one-sixth the total family earnings of average operative families in Massachusetts! Does this make any difference in the social standing of the operative and employing classes? Does early education amount to any thing as a start in life? What spins these two classes, one well-to-do, and the other — I will not say oppressed and down-trodden, but certainly not quite well-to-do, and not rapidly improving in intelligence or social position. Two great laws I have discussed here; but you cannot probe the mystery of manufacturing populations to the bottom

unless you blame parents themselves for sending their children into factories when they ought to be at school, and the manufacturer for violating the law which requires education for those children under fourteen years of age.

I blame both parties, the parent and the manufacturer; but there is an excuse for the parent. I look north, south, east, and west, and find no excuse for the manufacturer. [Applause.] If you please, I have no church, and in this lectureship neither capital nor labor is king. [Applause.] I am determined that this platform shall be put on its knees neither to capital nor to labor, but only to justice. [Applause.]

4. The low wages of the parents are the excuse commonly alleged by families for forcing their children into labor, and keeping them out of school. After all, however, working-men should see that the competition of children's labor lowers wages. Keep all the children in school who would be there if the law of Massachusetts were executed, and the working-men of Massachusetts would have more to do. This competition between child-labor and mature labor is a most mischievous cause of the reduction of wages. If parents are not governed by the love of culture for their children, they ought to be influenced by the love of good wages, to keep them out of factories when the law requires them to be at school. But here we have the fact that wages are such that a man supporting a family must depend, for a quarter or a third of the family earn-

ings, upon his children. Half of these, perhaps, will be under fifteen. The temptation is enormous to drive them into factories; and yet when a manufacturer has these children under his control, and cares nothing for the law, and tramples it under foot, I find that manufacturer far more to blame than the poor parent. The latter may be a foreigner, illy acquainted with the value of education in this country. I find that manufacturer grasping and lawless, and worse than the laborer who may be taking only the necessary steps to secure his daily bread. [Applause.]

You think I am a partisan of a class; you will ascertain that I am a partisan for all the people. I am a friend of the judge, and of the preacher, and of the physician, and of the capitalist. I am also a friend of John and James, and Hans, Patrick, and Michael. [Applause.] The certainty is that we cannot bless or ban any one class as a whole, and that only when both capital and labor are brought up to the height of Christian principle, shall we see any solution of the vexed question between them. [Applause.] There is nothing but the Golden Rule that can lead New England out of painful social and political crises on the questions of capital and labor. [Applause.] Say, if you please, that you care nothing for aged people; say that you care nothing for the drunken operative in his old age; say that the interests of advanced life are not to be regarded by Christian civilization. Why, in New England, surely, the little children have a claim to your pity; and

these laws for their protection, trampled under foot in every factory-town in Massachusetts, have a right to be executed by a vehement and authoritative Christian public sentiment. [Applause.]

5. After the great laws of subdivision of labor and size of establishment, and after the poor education of children and the low wages of unskilled operative labor, we must mention as a forceful cause of the separation of rich and poor in factory-towns, the existence in many places of a floating population brought into existence by the unsteadiness of the occupation offered by many styles of manufactures. A floating is likely to be a homeless, and so a morally policeless population.

I beg leave to make a distinction between the fluctuating and the uninterrupted industries. More than one problem is explained for the student of the high theme of the moral and industrial economy of cities, by this distinction.

Certain trades produce articles in the very nature of which there are constant and wide changes of fashion. Evidently these articles cannot be accumulated in advance, for the fashions cannot be foreseen at any great distance. A stock of outgrown fashions on the market might ruin these trades. As soon as certain annual fashions are set for the articles, these industries have a period of extraordinary activity. When the demand is supplied, a period of comparative inactivity follows, until the next set of fashions is determined. If fashions fluctuate annually, these trades fluctuate annually. If fashion fluctuate twice

annually, these trades fluctuate twice annually. On the other hand, it is evident, that if a trade produces an article, in the very nature of which there does not exist this susceptibility to a change of fashion, it may work from year's end to year's end, and accumulate, if need be, a stock of its own products.

The latter is the condition of the coal, iron, woollen, and cotton trades. The former is the condition of the shoe-trade.

All trades producing articles of clothing are subject, in large towns, to vast annual fluctuations of activity. In Boston, for example, the length of the working season for tailors and tailoresses is estimated at ten months; for shop-work, at ten; for paper-collar makers, at ten; for hosiery and rubber and elastic goods, at ten; for hatters, at eight; for corset-makers and hoopskirt-makers, at seven and a half; and for straw-workers, at seven. It seems a mystery that so many workmen, worthy in every way, and sure to find difficulty or distress because unable to procure occupation elsewhere, are dropped mercilessly from these employments by the thousands, at certain periods of the year. The explanation is simply that these employments produce articles subject to wide, annual, and unforeseen changes of fashion, and cannot accumulate stock in advance that is likely to be outgrown. We are often comfortably told that the wages given in such employments are of fabulous rates by the day or week. This is not often the case; but, even if it were, for how many weeks in the year does the working season hold?

There is another class of fluctuating industries, in which the variations of activity arise from the changes of the seasons. Thus the length of the year is estimated for quarry-workmen, at ten months; for farm-laborers, at eight; for masons, painters, and plasterers, at eight; for brickmakers, at seven.

You will mend these lulls, you say? Hundreds of years the artisans in the fluctuating industries which I have just named have tried to mend the lulls in large towns in their trades. They have not succeeded. To do so would be to counteract a natural law. Rapidity of production being one of the causes of the lulls, it is found, that, as machinery becomes more perfect, working seasons tend to become shorter. Machinery grows more perfect every day. It is introduced into large towns more promptly and abundantly than into small.

In a city establishment containing, for example, operatives enough to produce twenty sets, or twelve hundred pairs, of shoes a day, the manager gives out stock enough in the morning to make only twelve or fifteen sets. As the brisk season of work arrives, stock enough is given out to make thirty or thirty-five sets a day, and more help engaged if it can be found. But, as the season of inactivity comes on, the stock is diminished again. Perhaps, with a working capacity of twenty sets a day, only enough stock will be given out for twelve or ten sets. Of course workmen drag on without half enough work for a while, and finally are unoccupied by the thousands.

Precisely here arise the chief industrial perils of the operative class of this branch of manufactures. Precisely here is the origin of large floating populations, with their attendant startling moral perils.

6. Floating populations are largely unchurched populations. They come to manufacturing centres, and stay a few months, and go back to their homes. While they are in the mills they live in boarding-houses. They are without churches; they are usually without local property; they are in general without the moral police of family life; and so, little by little, drop in the social scale.

Where are the men who dare face the whole problem concerning capital and labor? Some such men are in this audience; and I believe that their right action in our brief day would do much to set fashions for a hundred years to come. [Applause.]

IV.

MRS. BROWNING'S CRY OF THE CHILDREN.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, NOV. 25.

I confess that my desire and ambition are to bring all the laboring children of this empire within the reach and the opportunities of education, and within the sphere of happy and useful citizens. The march of intellect, the restless activity, the railroads and steamboats, the stimulated energies of mind and body, the very congregating of our people into masses and large towns, may be converted into influences of mighty benefit. Let the State but accomplish her frequent boast, let her show herself a faithful and a pious parent. — LORD SHAFTESBURY: *House of Commons.*

Patient children — think what pain
Makes a young child patient — ponder!
Wronged too commonly to strain
After right, or wish, or wonder.

Healthy children, with those blue
English eyes, fresh from their Maker,
Fierce and ravenous, staring through
At the brown loaves of the baker.

MRS. BROWNING.

IV.

MRS. BROWNING'S CRY OF THE CHILDREN.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

A LARGE, significant star has lately appeared above the horizon of American religious thought, and deserves to be studied by any who watch the signs of the times, although it is peculiarly invisible to the wall-eyed radicalism of portions of Boston, and to haughty rationalistic specialists generally. Presumed to be mossy and mediæval, bigoted, and even cowardly, the oldest theological seminary in the United States has recently devoted a gift of fifty thousand dollars to the foundation of a professorship on the relations of Christianity to science. I look upon this event as one ray in a dawn standing tiptoe on the mountain-tops, and as a cheerful promise of a day which, even if it arise slowly, is yet likely to bless, not the churches only, but literature and politics, and science itself.

The religious scholarship of the United States is resolved to know as much as its duties require. It

recognizes as just the crescent emphasis of the modern demand for special training on the part of those who are to discuss scientific facts in their religious bearing. This claim of culture at large, theological students have themselves been urging in their own secret whispers for years. Possibly I may be permitted to say that ten years ago, as a student, I was dreaming of a day when such a professorship would be founded; and it may not be improper for an enterprise as humble as the Boston Monday Lectureship on the relations of religion to the sciences to make a reverent bow in its fourth year, and with proper self-forgetfulness, to this new professorship on the relations of Christianity to science. Young men have been asking for such a chair of instruction, and not merely theological students, but college graduates in all the professions; and not they only, but studious men of affairs; and not young men only, but aged men also. The most famous of the professors in our American theological schools have elaborately and minutely arranged plans for professorships on the relations of Christianity to science, and the trustees of many of these institutions have waited only for the necessary funds to open these novel departments of instruction. The royal generosity of a lady of Massachusetts has given the oldest theological seminary a chance to establish an official chair. I have no doubt that similar generosity would start any other of the larger seminaries in the land on a career of similar work. On this topic, the difficulty during the last

twenty years has been a lack of funds, and not the lack of a purpose to meet scientific men half way, by extending theological training far out toward the field of specialists in biological and psychological science.

It is conspicuously evident that the education of theological students in that circle of subjects which most vitally concern the highest human interests will be wider under this new encouragement than that of any other class of professional students in modern times. Men are not readily admitted to the regular courses of study in theological schools unless they have been through a college course of four years' study, with its preparatory course of three or four years, all devoted to rigorous mental discipline. Not a few are seriously asking for a fourth year in theological seminaries.

There is now to be given to professional students of theology special training if not in observing, at least in interpreting, all facts of strategic value on the whole blazing line of contest, or of agreement, as you please, between religion and science. Some of the Andover phraseology is peculiarly happy. The new professorship, which has been desired and projected for years, is frequently and properly called a chair founded to discuss the relations between religious and other science, or between theology and the other sciences. It is not admitted for a moment that in the chair of theology proper, the scientific method is applied to the discussion of religious truth less strictly than it is to be in this new

department. It is the relation of science to science that we discuss when we take up the topic of religion and science, and their connection in modern times.

How surpassingly rich is the field which lies before any man who enters upon the investigation of the relations of Christianity, or religion at large, to science! All biological investigation opens to him as a vast prairie filled with billowing flowers. He is to seek not for every weed, but for the most significant and precious growths. Thus his task is less disproportioned to human strength than it would at first appear. Indeed, it is not his business to know the *materia medica;* that is not important to his specialty; but he must know the consummate flower of all philosophy relating to biological investigation. Then there is the whole range of psychological study now connecting itself closely with physiology. There is no blazing question in physiology or in biology that does not cast light into the theological domain. Political economy and social science are also to be kept in view; for how can we discuss marriage and communism and democracy, or any of the large modern themes connected with free institutions, without knowing the best political thought of the world? Professor Hitchcock at New York lately told his classes that, "of all collateral studies, not one just now is of more immediate importance to theological students than political economy. The old Hebrew prophets, leaders of public opinion in their day and nation, were more than political econo-

mists: they were statesmen." (*Socialism*, p. 52.) Were they alive to-day, they would discuss socialism, and know how to wield the newly forged thunderbolts of biology and psychology, as well as of political science.

Such being the field this professorship has the superb courage to enter, its founding means that mossy, mediæval, cowardly Andover is not afraid of investigation. [Applause.] Religious science proposes to look north, south, east, and west, and never to be wall-eyed. Do sceptics and rationalists propose to do the same thing? American religious scholarship is not afraid of investigation. It founds lectureships and professorships to meet you half way. But what do you found? Where are your colleges? Where are your lectureships? Where are your great endowments? Where are your libraries? Where are your books, I will not say one thousand, but even one hundred years old? I put that question to the four winds, and obtain no answer. [Applause.] We meet you more than half way, and on heights commanding your camps are planting stern lines of artillery. I do not see the heights you are likely to occupy fifty years hence. I do not see how the present defences of materialistic infidelity can survive in a circle of modern artillery-fire, that is in an environment of public, clear discussion, which prints itself, and enters the open fateful contests of authorship. I do not see that you are likely to hold your camps. I see rather that every intrenchment of materialism is likely to be riddled through and

through with the heaviest artillery of intellectual discussion within an hundred years.

Heaven forbid that I should under-rate the training of specialists! Every one respects the specialist; but it is easy to forget how narrow a man's sympathies may become by exclusive devotion to any one branch of merely physical science. Even the theologian, vast as his field is, may be guilty of great narrowness of thought if he does not widen himself through contact with spheres of investigation outside his own. Take Huxley and Tyndall, neither of whom had a university education. They are great observers, probably no men greater; but from lack of a fit, large, roundabout university training, their sympathies with philosophical and ethical themes, in spite of their German studies, are not wide nor deep. If you measure them on the side of some of the most important philosophical topics, it will be found that their training is painfully incomplete. Tyndall's own account of his education (*Nineteenth Century*, latest number) shows that from the very first his mind has been in a trance on the topics of physical science, concerning which he has made discoveries, — the molecular constitution of gases, heat as molecular motion, sound as molecular motion. But it is only natural that his views in philosophy should be unsatisfactory to experts in that department, and that he should see almost nothing except the materialistic side, which, as Lotze says, is the horse and not the rider.

We need men trained, like Lotze, in both philoso-

phy and physical science, and taking a university degree in each department, if we are to meet the demands of modern discussion.

Andover has founded several new institutions; but no enterprise suggested in that town deserves more praise than the professorship of the relations of Christianity to science. Under the elms on the hill in Andover is a study in which a prayer-meeting was once held weekly to devise ways and means of doing good. Among its attendants were Stuart and Woods and Porter and Newman and Adams and Edwards. There originated the first religious newspaper. There began its existence an American Tract Society, which sifts its printed counsels now like the dew over a hemisphere. There, in imitation of a Scottish custom, was instituted the American missionary monthly concert of prayer, in response to the wants of an American Missionary Society, also originating in Andover, and whose operations now cover a domain larger than the Roman Empire. There had its birth the American Education Society, which to-day rings its college-bells all the way from Niagara to the Yosemite. There was commenced the American Temperance Society, which has before it, in our crowded great cities, a work of which even wakeful eyes do not yet see more than a glimpse of the importance. (*Half Century Andover Memorial.*) The munificence of one woman has founded the Andover professorship of Christianity and science. Through its usefulness her days will be long in the land. When serious men, looking into the future,

place thousands of dollars at stake in the founding of a professorship like this new one, the pioneer work of the discussion of the relations of religion to science has passed beyond the stage at which it can be injured by irresponsible, anonymous sneers. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

Mrs. Browning, Shakspeare's daughter, summarized fifty years of discussion in Great Britain by these most moving words: —

"The young lambs are bleating in the meadows,
The young birds are chirping in their nest;
The young fawns are playing with the shadows,
The young flowers are blowing toward the west.
But the young, young children, O my brothers!
They are weeping bitterly;
They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
In the country of the free.

Go out, children, from the mine and from the city;
Sing out, children, as the little thrushes do.
Pluck your handfuls of the meadow-cowslips pretty;
Laugh aloud to feel your fingers let them through!
But they answer, 'Are your cowslips of the meadows
Like our weeds anear the mine?
Leave us quiet, in the dark of the coal shadows,
From your pleasures fair and fine.'

'For oh!' say the children, 'we are weary,
And we cannot run or leap;
If we cared for any meadows, it were merely
To drop down in them, and sleep.

Our knees tremble sorely in the stooping,
We fall upon our faces trying to go;
And, underneath our heavy eyelids drooping,
The reddest flower would look as pale as snow.

For all day we bear our burden tiring
Through the coal-dark underground;
Or all day we drive the wheels of iron
In the factories, round and round.'"

If this is sentiment, surely it is good political economy as well, and that for both Britons and Americans.

Sir Robert Peel, himself a master-manufacturer, said in 1816 to the British Parliament, that unless the tendency of congregated labor under the factory system in large towns, to give rise to perils and abuses, could be corrected by decisive legislation, the great mechanical inventions, which were the glory of the age, would be a curse rather than a blessing to society. (HANSARD'S *Parliamentary Debates*, vols. xxxi., xxxiii., Sir Robert Peel's Speech on Motion for a Committee, April 3, 1816.)

1. Congregated labor and a large floating population are historically known as having always heretofore given rise, in large towns, to grave moral and industrial perils and abuses.

2. The new system of both textile and non-textile manufactures necessitates congregated labor; and the annual fluctuations of the activity of several trades give rise, in many large towns, to large floating populations.

It is of high interest to notice that almost pre-

cisely one hundred years ago, the cotton-factory system, on account of new mechanical inventions, was passing through a great transition exceedingly similar to that which the shoe-factory system has lately passed through from the same cause. In 1771 Sir Richard Arkwright perfected that marvellous combination of mechanical adjustments known as the spinning-frame. Hargreaves's great invention of the spinning-jenny took place in 1765. Crompton's celebrated combination in the mule-jenny, of the two preceding machines, followed in 1787. In strict analogy with what is now passing before our eyes in the history of a great sister industry, the invention of new machinery in the cotton-manufacture revolutionized its processes; and the invention of one important machine necessitated the invention of others.

But the steam-engine had not yet appeared. A factory system therefore sprung up in connection with vast establishments located on streams. Of necessity, the sites chosen were, in a majority of instances, at a distance from pre-existing towns, and in thinly-populated districts. In order to secure permanent labor, a system of apprenticeship was adopted, by which operatives were bound to work for a definite period. The consequences of congregated labor under no regulation except the unrestrained competition of manufacturers began to appear. Hardly more frightful abuses have sprung up under the factory system in large towns than sprung up in this first factory system outside of large towns. It is vastly important that you should fix your eyes upon the

historical fact that the evils I am discussing are not exclusively incident to residence in cities. A whole generation of boys and girls and youths and men and women of all ages, says one of the most considerate of historians, "were growing up under conditions of physical degeneracy, of mental ignorance, and of moral corruption." The very title of the bill by which Sir Robert Peel began, in 1802, the great series of the English Parliamentary Acts in promotion of factory reform, was: "For the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in the cotton and other mills, and in cotton and other factories." The health and morals! Upon these points all the vast mass of English factory legislation turns to the present moment. It is significant to notice that when congregated labor under the factory system was tried for half a century in England at a distance from large towns, it exhibited, taken by itself and aside from any now outgrown evils of the plan of apprenticeship, a tendency to perils and abuses such as to call for the most decisive parliamentary interference.

The new star of the steam-engine blazed across the mechanical sky; took a fixed place in it; and at once there was a new grouping of constellations. The vast manufacturing establishments which existed at a distance from towns were transferred to crowded populations. Between 1802 and 1815, the factory system was transformed into its present shape. It was the birth of the inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright and Crompton and Watt. It

was a system wholly new in the world. Immediately a tendency to perils, and abuses appeared, which called for vigorous parliamentary repression. *English Parliaments have not been remarkable for unnecessary interference with trade, nor for sentimental legislation.* The larger part of the manufacturing wealth of the kingdom was thrown into the scale against factory reform. But the cause of that reform has steadily advanced, because Parliament has been forced, by the terrible revelations of its own commissions of factory inquiry, again and again to interfere. The moral and industrial perils of congregated labor under the factory system in large towns! It was thought that the tendency of the factory system to these perils was corrected by the great Factory Act of 1833. Eleven years passed. The Factory Regulation Act of 1844 was found necessary. Two years ensued. Interference, always unwelcome to Parliament, and always against some of the deepest traditions of English law, was found needful in spite of previous interference. In 1847 the celebrated Ten Hour Act was passed. Experience continues to teach. In 1873 the Children's Labor Act is found indispensable. Against every one of these great measures, the larger part of the leading manufacturers threw their heaviest influence. I recite before this assembly the list of the great Acts of factory reform wrung from Parliament, in Great Britain, to prove the inherent tendencies of congregated labor under the factory system, in large towns, to moral and industrial perils and abuses. A board of factory

inspectors, with almost regal powers, sits to-day in London; and subordinate inspectors are located in various districts, making reports to the central office weekly. (VON PLENER, *English Factory Legislation*, with Introduction by Mr. Mundella: London, 1873.)

It is a matter of public notoriety, that within the last ten years the methods of the shoe-manufactures have been revolutionized by the invention of the McKay sewing-machine. The invention of the spinning-jenny and of the power-loom did no more to revolutionize the cotton-manufacture, the invention of the steam-engine no more to change the methods of inland and maritime conveyance, than the application of the sewing-machine to the shoe-trade has done to revolutionize the processes of that branch of industry. The change has been as remarkable for rapidity as for extent. It was hastened by the great exigencies of our civil war. The celebrated machine which is likely to be remembered in history side by side with the spinning-jenny and the power-loom, was invented and patented by Lyman R. Blake of South Abington, in this Commonwealth, as late as the year 1858. (*Shoe and Leather Record*, Boston, Sept. 26, 1870.) When the civil struggle began, it was seen that machinery must do the work of the multitudes of mechanics of the North, who had left their places, and were fighting the battles of the war. The original patent was sold to Mr. Gordon McKay and Mr. J. G. Bates of Boston, for ten thousand dollars. It was somewhat improved by them. Not far

from the second year of the war, it began to be applied to the shoe-manufactures in establishments in this city. Invention has followed invention. The supply of the wants of the new system of factories has tasked the skill of the best experts in machinery in New England. The McKay sewing-machine, the skiving-machine, the pegging-machine, the sole-moulding machine, the cable-wire machine, the self-feeding eyelet-machine, are but a fraction of the recent inventions not only patented, but in use. Any list of machines correct for to-day is likely to be incorrect, because outgrown, to-morrow. Rapid as the supply of the new machinery has been, the demand for it has exceeded, and yet exceeds, the supply.

Three large results have followed this invention of new machinery. First, the small shop system has been abandoned, and the large factory system has been adopted. Secondly, a great subdivision of labor has taken place. Thirdly, the trade is much more subject to lulls, or inactive seasons, than it was before the invention of the new machinery. Occurring in the largest trade of the United States, these changes are events of a high order of public importance.

The transition from the old system to the new is complete and final. All Eastern Massachusetts is sprinkled thick with the small shoe-shops, buildings twelve or twenty feet square, in each of which ten or fifteen men were usually employed on the heavier work of the trade; the females, in their own rooms

at home, doing the lighter work. These rooms have been vacated, never to be filled again. For a hundred years they have been almost as characteristic of a large part of the towns of Eastern Massachusetts as the schoolhouses or the churches. The large factories, which are rising to fill their places, are destined to become larger and larger. There is no longer any artisan in this trade who makes a whole shoe. Subdivision of labor is sometimes carried so far that a single article passes through the hands of fifty workmen, each of whom is trained only to make a part. As a rule, the old shoemakers were largely independent in the management of their business, each family attending to its own for itself. But the large factories have introduced an operative class and an employing class. In the old system, work was commonly steady from year's end to year's end, or affected only by the larger fluctuations of general commerce. But now there are two periods in each year in the trade, in any large city, when hundreds of operatives are dropped from employment. So far apart at so many points are the old system and the new, that it is of little service to reason from the experience of the trade under the former system, to the experience it is to expect under the new. It matters little if a man have passed a lifetime under the old system. He must judge the new system by the experiences developed under it, and not by the old.

It is of very great importance, while these changes are passing, to call attention in time to the high duty

of setting right precedents in the new system. Let the first twenty years of the new order of things, or the first ten, be managed carelessly, and the needle will be threaded wrong for fifty years, and will not be threaded wholly aright for a hundred. A responsibility of an extent and weight not easily over-estimated rests upon the manufacturing and operative classes who are now organizing a completely new factory system for the largest trade of the nation.

This voluminous document which I hold in my hand is an official copy of the bill now before Parliament summarizing or making laws relating to British factories and workshops, and sure to pass. It has already gone through both houses, and the provisions of it are sterner than those of Massachusetts legislation to-day. They are in advance of the best laws passed in America for the prevention of industrial and moral perils in congregated laboring populations in large towns. Its summary of fifty years of severe industrial experience is precisely that given in Mrs. Browning's words, — the child is the point on which these perils and abuses fasten themselves first of all. As Sir Robert Peel began with legislation to protect children, young persons, and women, so this bill is concerned, in more than two-thirds of its extent, with the protection of the rights of minors and females. The cry of the children, therefore, is uttered by the gruff voice of the English Parliament, as well as by the searching tenderness of the tones of this greatest of female poets. It is the combination of these two contrasted yet interblending voices of British litera-

ture and British legislation that ought to arrest American attention.

If I must summarize swiftly the propositions on which I dare put foot, face to face with the historical experience I have now sketched, I shall not lead you over English ground exclusively; for my feeling is that English factory legislation cannot be transferred as a mass to New England. We have a peculiar political and social life here, and experience in America is needed to guide American legislation. Nevertheless we can well cast glances upon foreign legislation, in Germany, in France, in Switzerland, in Great Britain, and especially upon this last series of summarized enactments, and examine what has taken place abroad while we are shrewd enough to study our own peculiar circumstances. Nail, therefore, to the door, as Luther did his theses to a certain church, these propositions. I purpose to defend them, but I ask no one to accept my positions: —

1. Much modern machinery can be managed by women and children as remuneratively as by men.

2. When a child, or young person, or woman, can be hired for fifty or eighty cents a day, and mature labor costs twice or thrice that sum, the temptation to manufacturers is great to hire the cheapest effective labor.

It is said by many that we ought not to interfere with the law of supply and demand; but why have I summarized this English legislation? In order to show you that practically England has interfered for half a century.

3. When, as in Massachusetts, families of operatives depend upon children's earnings for from one-fifth to one-sixth of the family income, the temptation to parents is great to force their children into early labor in the mills.

4. Between the greed of employers and the necessities of parents, the factory-child is thus deprived of a proper education.

5. The wages of mature labor are reduced by competition with child-labor.

My purpose is to fasten your attention upon the facts logically connected, as a chain running through this whole vexed topic of capital and labor. This chain, by the by, is welded by no human hand; and, according to the use we make of its links, it is either the chain that is to choke America severely, or the one that will bind back into impotence some of the worst industrial and political evils that assail her.

6. An ignorant operative class is inevitably produced by the neglect of early education of factory-children, through the greed of employers and the carelessness of parents.

7. An ignorant is likely to be a more or less helpless and suffering class.

8. An ignorant, helpless, and suffering class naturally becomes a politically and socially discontented, explosive, and criminal class.

9. The law of self-preservation therefore justifies State interference with the relations of capital and labor so far as the regulation of the work and education of children and young persons is concerned.

10. Fifty years of factory legislation in Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and most other civilized states, have established the principle of governmental interference in protection of the interests of children, young persons, and women in the trades, though not of men.

Here is the central proposition asserting the necessity of governmental interference, not in the socialistic sense, but in the republican, democratic sense; the principle of governmental interference in protection of the rights of children, young persons, and women, though not of the rights of mature labor, which is allowed to be boxed about under the laws of supply and demand.

11. No child under ten years of age should be employed in any factory. [Applause.]

The German Social Science Association insists upon it that no married woman should be employed in a factory. [Applause.]

12. No child under fifteen should be so employed unless able to show a certificate of an adequate amount of school instruction, to be required by law and also a surgical certificate of physical fitness for his labor. [Applause.]

13. Compulsory education in the common schools is in America a better measure than the English half-time schools for factory-children; for the half-time schools foster a class distinction foreign to the spirit of American institutions, and are not effective enough to train American voters adequately.

15. But, if the State assumes the care of the edu-

cation of the child until the fifteenth or sixteenth year, overseers of the poor should be instructed to aid families who suffer from the lack of the earnings of children whom the government requires to be in school.

15. The system of apprenticeship has departed from modern trades, and at present nothing exists in its place.

16. If the State takes the child from the parent until its fifteenth or sixteenth year, the government should give the child back so instructed as to be able to earn something. [Applause.]

17. Developing-schools and school-shops might, therefore, be well made to follow for a year or two the common school instruction; and such schools should be assisted by the State, and would constitute the crowning protection of children's rights in the trades. [Applause.]

Such are the seventeen propositions which I would emphasize, but of which I can give almost no expansion; and yet it is necessary to attempt a certain amount of illustration of these positions, and therefore I ask you to let me teach by object-lessons. I am not speaking to teachers or preachers or politicians: I wish any communications representing this platform as a teacher of teachers might be excluded from the public press. I never made, and shall never make, any such pretensions. I am far from attempting to instruct the leaders of the Massachusetts Bureau, or any minister here from a factory town. I am not an agitator by profession. I am here simply

and solely as a flying scout making a report, and I have had a little experience in a manufacturing population. It may be known to some here that I once had the honor or dishonor of raising a local breeze by a defence of the rights of working-men's children. [Applause.] I will not dwell on that point, however, for I believe the enemy was whipped, horse, foot, and dragoons. [Applause.] The working-men petitioned, two or three hundred strong, for a continuance of the discussion of the rights of their children; and although I am not a partisan for labor, or for capital, I must say that you never can convince working-men that he is their enemy who is a friend of their children. [Applause.]

Here is a little child at Fall River. I am reciting a fact out of the reports of your Massachusetts Bureau. The young creature stands at the edge of swiftly moving water to wash a broom, one of the heavy sort, and the racing flood bears the instrument away from her; but she, frightened from fear of punishment, clings to the handle, and is drawn in and drowned, for she is not large enough to pull out the broom from the arrowy current.

You say this is exaggeration; but I went this morning to the best specialist in Boston on the condition of labor, and I think the best in the United States, and put the question, "How many children are growing up in Massachusetts without any instruction in schools, public or private?" — "Why," said he, "three years ago I estimated that there were twenty-five thousand (report of Massachusetts Labor Bureau

for 1875, p. 5), but to-day I think there are from fifteen to twenty thousand growing up without any instruction worth mentioning, in either public or private schools." Where are they? They are in the factories, where this little child was, and at work. They are crowded out of the schools and into the mills, and they are laboring there day by day; and where are the men whose duty it is to execute the school-laws of 1876? Where are the men who are charged in Massachusetts with carrying out our present very excellent system of legislation against truancy? We have heard, for ten years, more or less discussion of the dangers of allowing an ignorant class to grow up in manufacturing cities; but public sentiment has not reached such a state that you can gather out of the Massachusetts sky any very hot thunderbolts — you can gather only thin ones, sheet-lightning merely — for these neglectful parents and still more neglectful and criminal public officers of the law. [Applause.]

What do I want? The legislation of England, which I hold in my hand, provides an efficient board of factory-inspectors; and you have nothing of the sort in this Commonwealth. Several years your Bureau of Statistics of Labor has been urging the appointment of factory-inspectors in Massachusetts, and again and again the topic has been laid aside in the State House. If my feeble voice, assisted by your support, can raise any agitation on this theme, God grant that we may have some influence to secure the execution of the righteous laws of Massachusetts in

the matter of compulsory attendance of the schools! [Applause.]

If I were a socialist, I should be personally ashamed to ask for more help than America, when her laws are executed, now gives through the government to the average citizen. Here I am, unable, let us suppose, to pay more than a poll-tax, and my wife becomes insane. The government watches over her, puts her into an institution, and takes care of her. Here is a child of mine that I cannot educate. The government opens a school for him, pays his tuition-bills, provides for him school-books, if necessary; and warms the house for him. Here is a child of mine that wishes to follow a certain trade requiring a technical education. The government gives assistance to schools peculiarly adapted to his wants. I have a child that is deaf and dumb. Massachusetts adopts him into her family, gives him a good room yonder in South Boston, attends to him as I cannot. I have a child that is blind. Massachusetts puts her hand on his shoulder, puts her hand in blessing on his head, guides him to her philanthropic institution for those who are sightless, educates him, places her best talent at his side, and improves his stunted mental perceptions until, in the case of a Laura Bridgman, they touch the Unseen Holy itself, and commune with the world beyond sight. [Applause.] You have now done for you, discontented socialists and complaining working-men, as much as you can bear to have done, and retain the proper spirit of self-help. [Applause.] All this is what capital regularly and willingly does for labor.

In spite of the danger of undermining the spirit of self-help, I would have the laws requiring the attendance of all children at the common schools rigorously executed, because without this precaution experience shows that an ignorant class will be formed even in Massachusetts. With very many of our foreign-born operatives there is no proper conception of the value of education in this country.

There are no proper conceptions, I think, in society at large, of the value of educating the uncleanest poor. Why, where have many of the greatest inventors come from? Who was Robert Burns? Who is the American Edison? Who was Ferguson when he lay on his back, and stretched a thread before him, put beads upon it, and marked the positions of the stars, and made a map of the constellations in the peasant's hut? Who was that rail-splitter [applause] who was assassinated in Washington at the end of a civil war, and over whose eloquence, as well as over whose statesmanship, every zone of the planet stood hushed in wonder? The talent that lies in the lowest population! how are we ever to know how great it is unless we bring Burns out from under the thatch, and Ferguson up from his peasant's hut, and our Edison into proper employment, and our Lincoln from his hovel up and up until he finds the place God made for him at the summit of political power in the foremost republic of modern times? [Applause.] Where are the lax executors of law, and the fleecers and tempters of the poor, who keep the veil of vice or ignorance hung over the eyes of the lower popu-

lations? A man very rarely finds out what great things are in him until he drops all the weights that impede his race. He does not know how swift he can be until every bad habit is sloughed off. Where are the men who execute the laws against intemperance? Shut your grog-shops, open your schools, and God knows what flashing jewels you may yet dig out of the neglected ores at the very bottom of the unwrought mine of the poorest classes. [Applause.]

Am I venturing too much in saying that the English half-time schools, effective as they have been, are hardly adapted to our New England civilization? We have had recommendations of these schools from the early officers of the Massachusetts bureau; but, in representing my own opinion concerning them, I am representing also that of the present officers of the same bureau. I understand these officers to affirm that the half-time schools cultivate a class feeling, and give the factory child a perception from the first, that the order to which he belongs is divided sharply from the upper orders. These schools do not contain that inspiritment which comes from the friendships always formed between boys of all grades of society, when they are mingled in the common school. My investigation of this topic of factory legislation leads me to reverence the ideas of our fathers concerning common free schools. Any attack on that system is sure to produce socialistic political mischief, as well as great moral peril, in the United States. We may easily secure the execution of compulsory laws concerning the attendance of factory

children at school. Let us make no distinction among citizens, on the ground of occupation, any more than on that of color. In this particular we can mould our legislation in America, on a pattern better than the models of the Old World. [Applause.]

I am not underrating the half-time schools of England. They have been tried in Massachusetts to some extent; but practical experience in Great Britain shows that they are a clumsy expedient, and can easily be abused; and, after all, do not give an education sufficient to meet the demands of the American voter in our modern political arrangement in America. In the cotton districts of England, where a half-time school-law has been in operation since 1833, it was found in 1866, that thirty-seven per cent of the children were unable to read.

Massachusetts at this hour stands in a position to be an example, if she executes her legislation concerning the instruction of children. Technical education in art has struck root here at last. A committee of your citizens, appointed by the American Social Science Association, strongly recommend that a developing-school and school-shops should be established by the city or state, or an endowed corporation; and that the gap left by the desuetude of the system of apprenticeship should thus be filled, the aptitudes of pupils ascertained, and trades taught them in outline. The worth of the articles produced in such schools would probably pay expenses after a short time. (See a report by S. P. RUGGLES, WENDELL

PHILLIPS, EDWARD E. HALE, and others, read at the annual meeting of the American Social Science Association in Boston, Jan. 10, 1877.)

Very interesting is it to observe, that, as the older America entered this continent at the Massachusetts coast, so the manufacturing America enters at the same quarter. Plymouth Rock was the foundation of a church; the problem of our industrial future is how to make it, without any hewing of its savage outlines of justice, the foundation of the factory. [Applause.] Yes, I mean all this implies. Plymouth Rock, or in other words, unhewn justice, is to be the foundation of our factory legislation, — Plymouth Rock, the corner-stone of industrial as well as political institutions; Plymouth Rock, the corner-stone not only of the Church which old New England was, but of the factory which the new New England is, and will be more and more. [Applause.]

In the famous English Bill which I hold in my hands, a child is defined as a person under fourteen years of age; a young person, as one between fourteen and eighteen; and a woman, as a female over eighteen. Now, no child in Great Britain, according to these new laws, and no young person or woman, can be employed in textile factories except as follows: —

1. Young persons and women work from six A.M. to six P.M., or seven A.M. to seven P.M., and on Saturdays from six A.M. to one P.M. Two hours a day, on five days of the week, and half an hour Saturday, must be allowed for meals. Continuous employment,

without a meal-time of at least half an hour, is not to exceed four hours and a half.

2. Children are employed for half-time only, in morning and afternoon sets, on alternate days. The work-day is the same as for women and young persons. No child can be employed on two successive days, nor on the same day in two successive weeks.

3. The employment of young persons at home, where the work is the same as that done in the factory, but no machine-power used, is also regulated.

4. Employers must obtain a weekly certificate of school attendance for every child in their employment.

5. Medical certificates of fitness for employment are required in the case of children and young persons under sixteen.

6. Dangerous machinery is to be fenced, and children and young persons are not to be employed in cleaning machinery in motion.

7. Strict sanitary regulations preserve the cleanliness of the factories.

8. The factory law of Great Britain is administered by two sets of officers, appointed by the Secretary of State, — inspectors charged with the duty of examining factories and workshops at all seasonable times, and certifying surgeons to grant certificates of fitness under the act. (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth ed., vol. viii., p. 845. See also official copy of the bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to factories and workshops, House of Commons, April 9, 1877.)

What I want for the protection of labor in factory towns is as much as Great Britain has, except her undemocratic half-time schools.

"Still all day the iron wheels go onward,
Grinding life down from its mark;
And the children's souls, which God is calling sunward,
Spin on blindly in the dark.
How long, how long, O cruel nation,
Will you stand to move the world on a child's heart,—
Stifle down with mailed heel its palpitation,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?
Our blood splashes upward, O gold-heaper!
And your purple shows your path;
But the child's sob in the silence curses deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath."

MRS. BROWNING: *The Cry of The Children.*

[Applause.]

V.

SEX IN INDUSTRY.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEENTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, DEC. 2.

Let us but shorten the term of daily labor, giving, thereby, to those employed the means of enjoying their inalienable right of time for self-improvement and domestic life, and I believe that, in the present state of the country, the factory system might thus be made the channel of comforts and blessings. When I have contemplated a multitude of twelve or fourteen hundred people, congregated under a single roof, governed by the revolutions of a single engine, all within reach of daily intercourse, of watchful care, of every happy influence, I have often said to myself: I wish to God I were a factory-owner. — LORD SHAFTESBURY: *Speech at Manchester.*

Thou art a Man, I think; thou art not a mere building Beaver, or two-legged Cotton-Spider; thou hast verily a Soul in thee, asphyxied or otherwise! Sooty Manchester, — it too is built on the infinite Abysses; overspanned by the skyey Firmaments; and there is birth in it, and death in it; — and it is every whit as wonderful, as fearful, unimaginable, as the oldest Salem or Prophetic City. — CARLYLE.

VI.

SEX IN INDUSTRY.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

POLITICAL prizes in the United States are now greater than they ever were in the Roman Empire, and are doubling in fatness and value every thirty years. Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus were never tempted by spoils as alluring as will dazzle and perhaps derange the American political future. We are as honest as most men can be expected to be under our present immensely mischievous customs as to the civil service. A hundred thousand men turned out and put in every time we change our national executive; and soon two hundred thousand to be turned out and put in, if you follow the accursed spoils system! You expect men to be honest with this vast patronage to be won by purchasing a canvassing board in Louisiana or Florida, South Carolina or Oregon! Statesmen of the first rank will be honest; but to expect fourth-rate politicians to be so in the presence of these temptations, is to fly in the face of the teachings of all history.

What are a few of the facts illustrating recent American ingenuity in frustrating the popular will expressed at the polls? Ghastly election frauds startle South and North, and achieve historical prominence from the discussion of them in a Presidential message. The ostrich hides her thin, wilful head in the sand, and thinks her whole body covered. Great is the American eagle, greater the American peacock, but greatest of all the American ostrich. Looking around the present national horizon from the point of view of the political party now in power, we see fraud, — chiefly in the South and among the fifth-rate managers of the Democratic party. But, if there were a Democratic President at the White House, I am not sure but that the nation would have evidence before it of fraud among fifth-rate Republican political managers. Both political parties affirm that the deciding votes in a close national election were bought and sold; that is, that the Presidency itself was on sale!

It is alleged that the cipher despatches which of late have been unearthed by the superb enterprise of the leading American newspaper, were exhibited to prominent men in Congress before the electoral commission was appointed. Both the Field and the Morton committee demanded at that time the telegraphic despatches on both sides; but Mr. Orton of the telegraph-company refused to surrender them. He assured Senator Morton that the secret telegrams would compromise conspicuous men of both parties, and make a horrible scandal. He showed them to

representatives on both sides, who saw that they would bring disgrace on prominent men, but who insisted, nevertheless, on their publication. Obliged to surrender the despatches to the congressional committees, Orton at last gave them up to Senator Morton, who used portions of them to overcome Democratic opposition to the count after the decision of the electoral commission. The despatches, it is affirmed, were found among his papers after his decease, but some of them had been destroyed. This account, to which papers as widely contrasted as "The New York Herald" and "The New York Nation" (see the latter, Oct. 17, pp. 231 and 234) have given currency and substantial credence, agrees well with the version which has been current in well-informed circles in Washington since the two political parties, just before the electoral commission met, agreed not to examine each other's record any further. I know how frankly I am speaking; but this is a place in which to speak frankly, for this platform is neither political nor partisan. [Applause.]

The use which has been made of the cipher despatches by "The New York Tribune" deserves great praise, although the exposure has been a party-weapon chiefly. What we want now is all the despatches that can be obtained, and as full an account as possible of any that are missing. If it can be shown that only one political party has been implicated in secret fraud, great advantage will, of course, inure to the exonerated opposite party; and so that party should be willing to bring forward the

rest of the despatches, in case they are in existence. Thus the investigation would assist to bring about general purification, and would not be merely a party-weapon.

What has been proved by the investigation thus far? In spite of the partisan character of the exposure nearly all good men are, as I judge, agreed: —

1. That in Oregon five thousand dollars were offered for an elector, and Democratic money sent to pay for the fraud.

2. That in Florida fifty thousand dollars were thus offered by a responsible agent at Gramercy Park in New York.

3. That in South Carolina eighty thousand dollars were offered, and the money sent to Baltimore to pay for the fraud.

4. That in Louisiana the Republican record is not clean, and the Democratic far from being so.

5. That the "Tribune" exposure has received no adequate reply.

The public keeps in mind the grave public denials by the principal character implicated, and the high honor he has received from a large portion of the American people. I think it fair to affirm that his explanations, in view of the great circumstantiality and coherence of the charges publicly brought against his agents, have not been wholly satisfactory. Perhaps they exonerate him in a slight degree; but, if he knew nothing of what his agents were doing, his indignation at their acts ought to be such as to cause him now to drop them from his employment,

which he has not done. The denials of the subsidiary men in the conspiracy are still more lame than those of the principal. The chief of the subsidiary agents affirms that he has nothing to say on the subject; but whoever, in his position, has nothing to say about these charges, has much to say. [Applause.]

But the most suggestive facts proved are these: —

6. That the Presidency was for sale by a few corrupt men.

7. That third and fourth rate politicians offered to buy it, and came near doing so.

8. That our electoral machinery is now such that at any time in a closely contested national election the presidency may be for sale by a few politicians of the tenth rank in some State where the count is to settle the dispute.

If we escaped from the existence of a fraudulent Presidency, it was not on account of any peculiar excellence in our electoral machinery or in the fifth and seventh rate politicians who managed it. It was not a result of the virtue of several prominent men in both parties. I believe that the leader of the Republican party now in the executive chair at Washington is as clear from fraud as the undriven snow from stain. [Applause.] While we pride ourselves on this confidence, however, let us keep in mind the large and startling final fact proved by our memorable experience in 1876.

How far does bribery go in our Northern city elections? Here is Chicago, and she has just found out that a vote and a count are two things. All nations

have heard of the existence in New York City of a Tweed ring, accustomed to stuffing ballot-boxes, miscounting the votes, and various forms of intimidation by roughs at the polls. Portions of the Southern Democratic party have improved on Tweed's measures. He never knew how to use tissue paper as adroitly as they do. He never employed the shot-gun, as they have done; he never dared strike off names from the registry-list, as has been done in the Southern States. We are peculiarly indignant over the gerrymandering of several Southern electoral districts, or the opening of polling-places in such locations as made them exceedingly inconvenient for black citizens. But that word, gerrymandering, I believe, originated in Massachusetts.

We must go farther back than to the cipher despatches of 1876, if we are to reach the root of our difficulty. I suppose it to be true that a great number of average voters in both political parties expect to sell their votes in closely contested elections. Riding down the Hudson the other day with a prominent politician, he told me that with his own eyes he saw, in a city outside of New England, church-members going about with their hands full of currency, and paying two dollars, three, five, for votes on election-day. An important measure was up, and these church-members were determined to carry it through; and in the case to which I am making reference they did carry an important reform in a city of fifty or eighty thousand inhabitants. They carried it by open bribery at the polls. Now, what are the churches

to say in such a case? Are you ready to indorse action of that sort in men who profess to look to the Holy of Holies for leadership? I was told by a prominent politician the other day, not far from New York City, that, when he put the question to a Democratic manager, "How many of your day-laborers, minor mechanics, and men of small means, refuse to be bought?" the reply was, "Not over a third. In a close election we can buy two-thirds of all the votes cast by the unfortunate class. The wealthy do not sell their votes; but those who need to exert themselves a little severely to make the year's ends meet, sometimes put down among their assets their votes. Father and four sons in a family put down twenty-five dollars for their votes, among their assets." I have heard of that being done, and of a man being elected to Congress who bought two hundred and fifty votes, and was carried into office by them; and he kept a list of the men he bought, and used to show it to his friends as a matter of pride. Political clubs of the lower order sell themselves in bodies in many city elections; and this infamy we sleep over. We are not awakened by the yet more humiliating fact of the bribery of the pinched but usually honest country-side.

We live in a kind of stupidity, a sort of jocose indifference, concerning average bribery at elections; and even church-members who bribe escape any severe condemnation, but deserve to be smitten by the thunderbolts of church censure. [Applause.] I had almost said that the answer I should be tempted to make to the offer of a bribe would be a blow.

The Rev. Dr. Dale, from England, in a public address at New Haven, defended the proposition that under a free representative government, any church-member who has a right to vote, and will not, deserves to be censured by the church; and, without repentance, should be expelled from church communion. Now, I do not go as far as that; but, in the presence of an audience which understands this subject in its relations to manufactures, and in a State which has been accused by the foremost orator of the Commonwealth of intimidating working-men, I undertake to say that when church-members are found with their fingers full of filthy lucre, peddling it out in the way of bribes around the polls on election-day, and their attention is called in private to the scandal they are bringing on God's house, and they do not repent, they ought to be ejected from church communion. [Applause.]

You think that the young men's movement in politics will purge the polls in cities, and that a good registry-law will bring us out of frauds at the ballot-box. Yes; but our cities are growing faster than the rest of the country. We have heard over and over, from all kinds of public authorities, that a fifth part of our population now lives in cities, and that cities are the hotbeds of greed and fraud. The young men of Boston may take care of this city: it is a small place. Possibly the young men might take care of New York: it is a small place yet. But how are we to take care of a couple of Londons in this country when our population has doubled once or twice more?

Certainly, if we fail in a general appeal to the public, there is no reason why we should fail in an appeal to the ministry and church-members. The ministry are not politicians. We are at times a kind of arbitrating board between extremes in politics. We are not seeking office. Everybody knows that we are not dependent on this or that political faction. It is time that the ministry of the United States should rise to its feet, and declare its right to be heard on this terrific evil of election-frauds. Let us bring into practice the principle that men guilty of receiving or of offering bribes shall not be kept in the church; and, if out of it, shall be prevented from coming in. [Applause.]

> "Not lightly fall, without recall,
> The written scrolls a breath may float;
> The crowning fact, the kingliest act
> Of freedom is a freeman's vote."
>
> WHITTIER: *Election Eve.*

[Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

It is the fortune of Massachusetts to have legalized more complete investigation concerning the condition of working-women than any other political community known to history. The fact has been officially ascertained that in this Commonwealth the average pay for ten hours' labor by a woman is eighty-two cents. The statement was lately published in New York, that a dozen shirts can be made to-day in that city for thirty-five cents, and the assertion

was verified by a letter from a female operative. (*Tribune*, Dec. 6.) My object is not to direct your attention to the upper rank of female labor, but to those lower grades which you know must exist, if you take as authentic the official statistics. Averages could not be brought down so low, were not the lower ranks extensive. It is out of the lowest ranks of low-paid female labor that some of the worst evils of cities arise. If you continue to squeeze the heart of girlhood by low wages, you must expect to find in the gutters of cities a good deal of red, clotted slime; and, if you like to roll in it, remember that you have squeezed out the blood. [Applause.] With eyes open to notorious facts concerning low-paid female labor, I have at times an indignation that would not appear sober if it were fully expressed; and yet these statistics burn with a hotter fire than I have ever found in my own heart; and I believe that, if you fasten attention on them but for a moment, they will kindle their own fire in yours.

1. These propositions represent the condition of working-women in Massachusetts: —

(1) In 1875 the Massachusetts Labor Bureau received statements of personal earnings and expenses from 15,824 females depending for support upon daily wages.

Many more than 15,000 returns were received, but the Board struck out of the account all the statements that were in any way imperfect. Over 15,000 good ones remained, complete in every essential par-

ticular. I undertake to say the world never saw as many budgets of poor working-girls opened as were examined officially in this Commonwealth in 1875.

(2) The average number of days these working-women were employed in a year was 258.

(3) Their average earnings were 82 cents a day. They worked on the average more than ten hours a day, that is, more than sixty hours a week.

(4) Only one in a hundred owned a house.

(5) These females were paying on the average $93 a year rent.

(6) The cost of living of the working-women was reduced on the average to $182.86 a year.

You are not interested in these figures? No; but they may be family statistics for your descendants!

2. These propositions represent the condition of working-men in Massachusetts: —

(1) In the year 1875 the same Bureau received returns from 55,515 males engaged in the industries of this Commonwealth, and depending for their support upon daily wages.

(2) The average number of the days they were employed in the year was 241.

(3) Their average earnings were $2.01 a day, against 82 cents for women.

(4) Only one in a hundred, however, owned a house.

(5) These males were paying on an average $109 a year as rent.

(6) The cost of living of the working-men was reduced on the average to $488.96 a year.

You assure me, however, that it is useless to try to frighten an intelligent audience by mere averages; for of course there are a few poverty-stricken districts even in Massachusetts. You think that by putting in the Cape and Nantucket and all the rural districts, and by allowing working men and women to make their own reports, and by manipulating the figures a little, these startling results can easily be brought out. But here I hold in my hands the official report of your Labor Bureau for 1876, and in it these returns are arranged by counties (pp. 49–64). Remember, also, that your Bureau was honored by being appointed to the work of taking the decennial census in this Commonwealth. In 1875 the labor of the State census and that of the bureau of industry were conjoined. There were returns obtained from employers as well as from working-men and working-women; and here I have before me a table in which the employed and the employers are quoted side by side (p. x.). According to returns made by employers for more than 250,000 employés, the average of yearly wages for the State is $413. According to returns made by the employed, this average is $418, slightly above the estimate made by the employers themselves. The coincidence of these two estimates is one of the most striking things in this almost mathematically exact work of the honored chief of your Labor Bureau, Col. Wright. Each set of these returns was made distinct from the other; and both refer to the same period, the year ending May 1, 1875.

But I turn now to a few details to convince you that the averages have not been manipulated. Here, for instance, is grand old Middlesex County, and I find that the average daily wages of woman in 1875, in that favored tract of Massachusetts, were 82 cents; that the number of days she was employed, on the average, was 270; and that the annual cost of her living was reduced to $178.82. I turn to Hampshire County, in the middle region of the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts, and find that the average daily wages of woman was 78 cents. She was employed there 260 days in the year. The cost of living was reduced to $169. I turn to Hampden County, on the fat meadows of the lower Connecticut Valley in this State, and find woman earning only 90 cents on the average, and employed only 172 days in a year, and the cost of her living reduced to $192. I turn to Essex County, the north-east county of this Commonwealth, and find the average daily earnings of woman 89 cents only. She was employed 257 days of the year, and the cost of her living was reduced to $203. I turn to Berkshire County, on the hills that look into the Hudson Valley, and find woman's average earnings 72 cents only. She was employed 266 days, and the cost of her living was reduced to $180.82. I turn to Barnstable County, which you say, by being thrown in with the general estimate reduces the average, and I find that there the daily earnings of woman were 66 cents, that she was employed 204 days, and that the cost of living was $130. I turn to Suffolk County, and find the

average earnings 71 cents; the number of days, 298; and the cost of living, $184 only.

It is truly astounding to me to find public sentiment slumbering over facts like these, with the additional certainty before it that New England is a factory, and is likely to be so more and more.

The centre of territory in Massachusetts is within the limits of Worcester, on the easterly side, near Lake Quinsigamond. But where is the centre of population? Is it Framingham? Is it Lake Cochituate? The north and south line which cuts the population of Massachusetts in halves passes easterly of a point midway between Harvard University and the West Boston Bridge. The east and west line dividing the population into equal portions passes through the South Boston end of the Federal-street bridge. The two lines intersect at a point not two miles west of the State House. This, according to the State documents, was the centre of population in 1865. (*Abstract of the Census of* 1865, *with Remarks on the Same, and Supplementary Tables*, prepared under the direction of Oliver Warner, Secretary of the Commonwealth, p. 274.) The centralization of wealth is even more remarkable than that of the population. The census everywhere reveals the fact that, through the aid of the wonderful increase of all means of intercommunication, the change which is constantly giving greater and greater power to cities, this added weight of the Atlantic slope of the State, is chiefly an effect of the extraordinary growth of the manufacturing centres of Eastern Massachusetts. Of

these, Boston itself is one. I must be pardoned for considering it a suggestive circumstance, that, in spite of the remarkable advances of Central and Western Massachusetts, the circumscribing line drawn from the State House, and containing half the population of the Commonwealth, has contracted its radius ten miles in fifty years. All Eastern Massachusetts is a factory. In 1865 more than one-half of the population of Massachusetts, seven-tenths of the personal property, and two-thirds of the real estate, were situated within twenty-five miles of the State House at Boston! (*Ibid.*, p. 275.) In the five years since these astonishing estimates were made, Lynn has increased thirty-six per cent in population, Lawrence thirty-two, Lowell thirty-one, Haverhill nineteen, and Fall River forty.

Here is the incoming of an Atlantic tide. It is the roar of the industrial conditions of Old England coming into New England. I have lived for months within hearing of the roar of the ocean, and have looked daily upon the coming-in of the vast tides. It is little to say that I profess to have lived also within hearing of the roar of the human ocean which beats on the Atlantic slope of New England, and to have looked frequently upon the coming-in of these vast tides. Imagine the magnificent coast-line from Newfoundland to New York beaten in all its coves and headlands by incoming Atlantic waves. A feeble occupation this, compared with imagining the same coast beaten as it is, in all its coves and headlands, and likely to be beaten more and more furiously as

the years pass, by these incoming human tides, and more and more complicated industrial conditions. Not discuss those conditions! Not secure the best life that can be secured for the millions whose future is now being largely determined by the precedents which are to be set in the period of transition New England is passing! Not turn public discussion and legislation early to the solution of problems more vital than any others in the secular life of New England, and sure to become more and more complicated as the tides rise higher! He who says this is likely to be as little regarded as the rattling of rushes before the coming-in of an Atlantic surge.

Discussing sex in industry, I have placed in contrast the condition of working-men and that of working-women in the most fortunate commonwealth of the globe, to show you what happens in favorable conditions. What if I were to go to Prussia? What if I were to go to England? My topic touches the whole range of capital and labor from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific seas; and I am here speaking at a great disadvantage by the use of Massachusetts statistics. I must employ them, if I am to speak definitely, for they are the only good statistics of this kind in the world. So has European sentiment, so has even English sentiment, slumbered over this topic, that to-day you cannot find authority for making statements as definite as these concerning the working men and women of Prussia and of England. There is now in circulation a memorial to Congress and the President, asking that statistics like these

be given us in the next national census, for all the United States; and may God give success to that petition! [Applause.]

3. It is evident from these contrasted propositions, that unsupported and unmarried women are often so illy paid that with ten hours' labor a day they barely escape starvation, and do not escape illness and debt, and can lay up nothing for marriage, or for seasons when employment is not obtainable.

4. In cases where female labor earns six dollars, ten dollars, or sometimes fifteen dollars, a week, it is from sixteen to thirty-four weeks of the year only that these wages are earned.

It never will happen to you to forget the distinction between fluctuating and uninterrupted industries if you have had a little experience in seeking employment. A good place obtained is not always kept for a year. Indeed, the uncertainty of employment is one of the things most discouraging to female labor. You know that woman is not man's equal, quite, in pushing her own interests among rough people. She must go about, often alone, and seek occupation, and there is not everywhere a Young Women's Christian Association to help her into business. Even if such an association exists, it cannot always supply what is wanted. A woman, a young woman, a girl, must get her own place often and again; and, when she has obtained it, she may be in some fine industry where the fashions change, and where, in less than half a year, a new set of fashions come in, and the trade has to wait for orders. Many

of our great industries can accumulate stock, and sell it without great risk. Iron-ore is always worth something; cotton cloth does not go out of fashion. But your fine bonnets, your fine embroidery, your ready-made clothing, your finest articles of female apparel, change their fashions, and cannot be safely accumulated in advance. They are produced in, and they produce, the fluctuating industries. If it is your business, as it is mine, to study the political economy of cities, you will fasten attention upon the distinction between the fluctuating and the uninterrupted industries as explaining a large amount of the distress which comes upon female operatives in our great towns. Their business is not steady. When manufacturers tell you that ten dollars and fifteen dollars a week are paid to the best female operative, you must ask how many weeks a year these wages are received. Here I have statistics which show in detail that very considerable sums must be earned in some way outside of factory-work, if female operatives in fluctuating trades are to make the year's ends meet. That matter has been investigated in this State. It is fully ascertained that in most cases, unless these operatives who are thrown out of employment by the lulls in a fluctuating industry get something else to do, they cannot support themselves, even at the low average cost of living. If they do not obtain some other employment, they suffer, or fall into debt, and may approach starvation, because in these brisk periods it is impossible to earn enough to keep body and soul together through the whole year.

Let it be understood constantly that I do not assail manufacturers as a class. I am utterly without partisan feeling concerning capital and labor. But there are establishments in this city where young women are sometimes discharged in a body, and unskilled young women brought in because they can be had cheaper. Skilled female operatives who have supported themselves during the time when they were learning a trade are apt to demand higher wages; but some machines can be run by comparatively unskilled persons; light work can be done by girls; and it happens in third and fourth rate factories, even under the shadow of that State House, that skilled girls are dropped because their wages are too high, and unskilled brought in, so that these short seasons are thus further shortened.

Every day there come to me, in my study of this theme, illustrations of the physical limitations of women. You know that in many manufacturing establishments a girl must be on her feet from morning to night. Indeed, in some shops of retail business, the female clerks must be on their feet most of the time. It is against the rule to sit down in some establishments. I read in this document lying in that chair (*Report of Labor Bureau for* 1871, p. 205), printed under official authority, of a girl in this city who was kept measuring cotton cloth from morning till night, and at last dropped in a fainting-fit. "It was three-quarters of an hour before the girl was able to resume her work, and for this loss of time her employer deducted a quarter of a day's wages."

5. During the acquisition of skill in any trade, the working-girl must usually support herself.

6. She is required by public law to be at school until she is fifteen, and is graduated without training in any industrial employment.

7. Developing-schools and school-shops should be open to girls as well as boys.

8. But the girl is always less incited by self-interest than the boy to learn a trade; for at marriage she expects, as the boy does not, to make occupation conform to that of the person married.

Flora McFlimsey, who has nothing to wear, is only a little more foolish and criminal than Bridget, if the latter is allowed by her own pride to cast herself upon the world without knowing how to do any thing. But it is not the pride of Flora McFlimsey that is chiefly to blame, but our own omission of the proper training of girls to industry.

We take the boy and the girl from the father and mother up to the age of fifteen, and insist that the child shall be at school; and then we give back both so poorly educated that they find little or nothing to do, and, if they were left alone, would not have much to wear. You approved here, the other day, my proposition, when it was asserted that school-shops and the developing-school are a proper crown for children's rights in the trades. Surely if they are a proper crown for boys' rights, they are for girls'; and yet I recognize the fact constantly that the girl cannot be helped as much as the boy. She never will be as enthusiastic as a boy in learn-

ing a trade, simply because she does not expect to be independent in its practice. Nevertheless it is a public shame for us to send out of common schools young girls above all manual labor, and fit only for the drawing-room, and utterly unskilled in any thing that would bring them a dollar. [Applause.] I would have the girl so brought up in school, that when she leaves it she may not be above manual occupation, and may not be so unskilled as to be unworthy of employment. [Applause.]

9. Woman has in general more pride of appearance than man, and, if in poor dress, is less easily than man drawn into the evening-school, the lecture-room, and the church.

Discussing the condition of thousands now in New England, and keeping before you the future prospects of far larger numbers yet to arrive here on the shore of being, I am endeavoring to state in logical order the circumstances which determine the condition of the working-girl and working-woman in manufacturing populations.

10. In the working-room, the girl cannot always choose her companions. In the fluctuating industries, the door through which operatives are admitted to work-rooms is not a moral sieve.

11. The perils of work-rooms where unsifted, fluctuating, and floating populations are crowded together under careless overseers will often be great for young men and boys, and especially great for women, young women and girls, who constitute more than half of average operative populations.

12. A floating is usually a more or less homeless population, and so is less under the influence of family police than a stationary population.

13. Neither boarding-houses nor churches can do as much for a floating as for a resident population.

What do I want? Perhaps you will allow me to assert that if I had a sister I should be very reluctant to put her into a room, say twenty by thirty feet square, filled with floating operatives in a fluctuating trade. Why should I be thus reluctant? Because I have seen repeatedly in this Commonwealth three, four, or five young women in a room with fifteen or twenty men, and have had the best reason to know that, as the machinery did not make noise enough to prevent conversation, the effect of profanity and utterly vile talk was as demoralizing and poisonous as might naturally be expected. If there be an evil girl there, she may do immense harm. If I had a son, I should not like to place him in that room. I have talked with many manufacturers on this theme, and never met a man of the first rank, managing his business in the Christian way, who did not say that this is an evil, and can easily be avoided. It can be diminished by securing fair oversight of the rooms. It is not always necessary to mingle the sexes; perhaps sometimes it must be done, but most manufacturers tell me that there can be a clean system of managing these work-rooms. I know how many exigencies arise in associated toil, and how you cannot make up what is called a team in certain processes of industry, without mingling female and male

labor; but in general there may be two sets of work-rooms, and such oversight that this difficulty may be immensely lessened.

When I go to physicians in manufacturing towns, and ask what is the moral effect of careless factory-arrangements, I obtain replies that cannot be made public. Go to the best factory-physicians in New England, where the floating populations are largest, — I am weighing all my words, — and they will tell you that some of the perils notorious in seaport towns are likely to arise in every quarter where thousands of people float in and float out without homes, and are massed face to face in these work-rooms of the factories of the fluctuating trades.

Ominous enough in itself, the historic reputation of congregated labor is yet more ominous from the most important circumstances that many vast branches of manufactures belong to the fluctuating rather than to the uninterrupted industries, and must, on that account, give rise in large towns to large fluctuating populations. The perils of congregated labor in large towns are large enough; but the perils of congregated labor in large towns with large floating populations have an established name that makes it impossible to speak too strongly of the worth of family life as a moral police in society.

He who comes home at night to a circle that know him well, and watch his daily course, has a kind of daily appearance to make before a moral tribunal. The bliss of the home affections is a shield from vice, not only because it is bliss, but because it makes any

conduct that needs concealment from the moral tribunal of the most intimate circle as painful as the bliss of ingenuousness and trust is great.

From side to side of the globe, every place where a large floating population congregates is found to be a stormy moral coast. In face of universal experience I need not pause to prove the moral perils of homelessness. Those centres in New England where large floating populations gather will always be found to exhibit peculiar moral perils.

All the more to be honored and trusted for their endurance of the breakers, is that percentage of most worthy people to be found in every floating population. Not only am I aware of the existence of hundreds of excellent people in floating populations, but also of the duty of receiving these with especial cordiality to our hearts and homes. But in a large town there is in a floating population not only an intermixture of the thoughtless and giddy and falling, but further down, and most to be feared, a percentage of the thoroughly bad. Men and women who have the worst reasons for leading a floating life need not be many in any floating population, to do immense mischief. New England is not so saintly in her cities that she can afford to forget that the exigencies of trade and the wonderful growth of means of intercommunication have brought into some of her inland large towns evils thoroughly analogous to the old and traditional evils of seaports. All kinds of people gather in fluctuating industries. In a large city, in a floating population, it is not incautious to ask, not every tenth

man, but every tenth man who pretends to a peculiar interest in your affairs, "Have you ever been in jail?" Every great city is a collection of camps. He who knows one stratum of the society only, does not know the city. He who knows dissipated Paris does not know Paris, but only a particular camp in Paris. So of New York and London and Berlin, and every lesser town in its proportion. The moral perils of homelessness, added to the perils of this bad percentage from outside, put the solemn duty upon the resident population of these stormy moral coasts, to throw the moral light-houses of church, library, and school, but especially the light-houses of right industrial arrangements, far out upon the edges of the reefs.

I have not suffered myself to take up a theme so complicated and weighty without an extended and most serious attention to it, not as exhibited in books merely, but as seen in the swarming life of manufacturing-towns; not as seen in the opinions of this class of men or of that, but as seen by men who have the most different interests involved concerning it, and the most widely separated points of view. I have been through more than a few of your factories. I have conversed with a large number of your leading manufacturers. I have consulted carefully with many working-men.

14. The proposition I defend is, that the working-class of the manufacturing centres of New England have a right to ask of the employing class that the moral perils of the work-rooms under the factory sys-

tem shall be made for themselves and for their children as few and small as possible.

There is a foul and there is a clean system of workroom management in factories engaged in fluctuating industries, and likely to have many changeable operatives. To speak at once to the point, there are workrooms in which men and women, boys and girls, gathered in large part at random out of a floating population, are sandwiched together like herrings in a box; and, uninterrupted by the noise of machinery, it is not infrequently tobacco-smoke, profanity, and foul talk from morning to night! I am not speaking of cotton-factories, nor of establishments in which the noise of machinery prevents free conversation between operatives. But in factories of many other kinds it is notoriously easy for a few foul mouths, not hard to be found in a floating population, to corrupt a whole room. The herring-box system I call a foul system.

Foul mouths in factories are so well known that the expression is almost a proverb. There are numerous and most honorable exceptions, especially in the factories managed on the clean system; but you would think me ill acquainted with the most essential parts of the subject I discuss, if I did not refer to what the best class of working-men and working-women speak of to me at every street-corner.

I have sometimes seen four or five young women crowded into the same room with twenty-five or thirty men; or three working thus; or two, or one. I do not assert that a majority of mouths are foul in the

factories; but I deliberately make myself responsible for the public assertion that a father who wishes the welfare of his daughter cannot be expected to put her into factory-life in a large proportion of the work-rooms in the fluctuating trades. There is no saying more common among operatives than that a father does not like to put his daughter or son into many of the factories. The common and permanent opinion as to what the answer would be to the question, Would you put your own daughter into work-rooms managed on such a system? is a test of the character of that system. A management in respect to which the answer to this question is notoriously and always "No," I call a foul system. Perhaps I have put more than a hundred times this question, or its equivalent, and have been answered invariably in exactly these words, or their equivalent: "Before putting my daughter into work-rooms managed on that system, I would see her in some other place work her fingers to the bone." This is a terrible condemnation of a system wholly unnecessary in itself, affecting here and elsewhere a vast operative population, and likely to affect a population larger and larger.

On the other hand, as the example of many of the largest factories abundantly proves, there is a clean system of work-room management in the fluctuating industries. In one of the best factories within a dozen miles of this platform, I have seen the sexes in separate rooms everywhere from basement to roof. Where this arrangement is made, and care is taken

to appoint men of irreproachable character to oversee the work-rooms of the men, and women of irreproachable character to oversee the work-rooms of the women, the answer to the test question is different. I have information as to single rooms in which there is every reason to believe the moral condition is good, because care has been taken as to the moral character of overseers; and as to others, in which there is every reason to believe the moral character is bad, because there has been carelessness as to the moral character of overseers.

When the character of a floating population, the effect of the floating on the resident population, the inflammability of human nature, the immense numbers likely to be affected by the varied influences of the work-room arrangements, are kept in view, all that can be said in respect to the foul system is simply that capitalists and manufacturers ought to have sense enough not to adopt it. One hardly feels like offering arguments in the case. It is, however, as a temporary arrangement, though not as a permanent, slightly cheaper to manage on the careless system than on the careful. There is, too, now and then, a man of theory, or some

"Lily-handed, snow-banded, dilettante"

critic, knowing nothing of manufactures, who, overlooking the immense distinctions between the influences of the sexes on each other in the parlors of good society, or in a high school, for example, and their influences on each other in these rooms, filled

from a floating population without any careful sifting of character at the doors, judges on general principles, without having examined the case in actual life, that the mingling of the sexes in these work-rooms from morning to night may be an excellent thing. And there are others, who, judging from some exceptional instance or instances, where the character of those engaged in particular rooms has been particularly good, and the overseers men of irreproachable character, and the sexes mingled to apparent advantage, think that this is the best *general* rule for the large floating populations of the manufacturing centres of fluctuating trades, present and future, in New England and elsewhere.

It is found by experience that it is in the work-rooms that a young woman coming into the fluctuating trades, and not resisting — as, thank God, hundreds and thousands do resist — the morally unhealthful influences, loses that natural shyness and modesty which are her charm, and gradually acquires a repulsive boldness. Suppose that a young woman falls into both an illy-regulated boarding-house and a room of unhealthful moral conditions in a factory. Which will do the more harm? Which will begin the harm? Where will the first indentation of ill occur? Evidently she can choose her companions, to a great extent, in the boarding-house; and, if she is of high principle, will choose the best she can. But she cannot choose her company in the work-room. She must there breathe the atmosphere of the company eight or ten hours a day. She may, in a large meas-

ure, choose her own company in the former, except for perhaps an hour a day. Further on in the history of deterioration, the illy-regulated boarding-house and the street-school may strip the flesh from the peach, but the down of the peach was brushed away in the work-rooms. This is found to be the history of the case in tracing almost any individual example of deterioration.

The chances in any fluctuating trade in a large town are extraordinarily great that bad men and bad women will occasionally be found in the work-rooms; and these chances arise from the four circumstances, (1) that the door of entrance to the work-rooms is not, and, on account of the number of changeable operatives, is not likely soon to be made, a moral sifting-machine; (2) that the industry is likely to have each year two brisk and often painfully hurried periods, and two of comparative inactivity; (3) that the percentage of operatives changeable within the year is large on account of these fluctuations, and is often estimated to be thirty-three per cent of the whole number; (4) that, on account of the fluctuations of the industry, the floating population is large, and it is out of this population, itself not sifted, that operatives, in the hurried periods of work, are taken into the work-rooms through a door that is not a sieve.

Already New England has many cities with a population of five or seven or ten thousand swirling in or out of each of them, according as business is at its brisk period or at its lulls. How large will that

population be in fifty years? How large in a hundred? I am in New England but for a moment; but I profess to care enough for it to keep fifty and a hundred years of its future in view, and to put at hazard any popularity I may or might have, by asking you to meet, as men, the complicated problems of your vast industries. *Who* is the man, and *where* is the man, who will say that you can have a tide of ten or fifteen thousand people swirling in and out of a city like this, and no moral perils arise, no sediment be stirred, no grave responsibilities laid upon those whose business is the flood-gate through which these tides must mingle with the other tides of the population?

At the best, the filter that you can provide for the tides will be ineffective enough; but to say that there is need of no filter, that you may safely take the chances of careless factory arrangements being continued, is to say what time will disprove. If the present careless factory arrangements are continued fifty years, your floating populations in many manufacturing centres will be full of moral ulcers. Lazarus will lie at the gate of Dives in New England, and he will be full of sores. I throw my whole weight into the scale against the continuance of these careless arrangements. *I know that the American Lazarus may to-morrow or in the next generation become a Dives, as the European may not; but, in spite of American institutions, the day is coming, unless factory-life is studied and adjusted most carefully, when here and throughout New England, of which the whole*

Atlantic slope is a factory, Lazarus will lie at the gate of Dives.

Why discuss this subject publicly? Because only a powerful public sentiment will correct the evil. In what method will public sentiment aid? It is not difficult to point out the steps. Let it be made socially as unpopular for a man to manage a factory on a careless system, and mutilate souls, as to manage a railway on a careless system, and mutilate bodies. Then the better class of men will be influenced. Let a majority, thus gradually won, set right fashions, and even the money-gripes, and men lower down, will be reached. Business is a regiment. For industrial reasons men must keep step with each other in it. Let a majority of the board of trade of any city set right business fashions, and the inferior men who care only for money are usually brought sooner or later to respect the step of the regiment.

If inks and silks must be packed together, they ought to travel in separate cases. [Applause.]

15. Under this combination of industrial and moral perils, the working-girl must bear also the perils to health arising from the physical limitations of woman's nature.

16. The statistics of infamy prove that most fallen women have been tempted to their fall by their poverty.

It is impossible to deny that one of the forces which push women toward the pit of physical death, and also toward that of moral death, is low wages. [Applause.] I am not alone in that opinion.

It is the opinion of your Labor Bureau. It is the opinion of the best politicians in this State. It is the opinion of the soundest parts of our industrial populations. It is the opinion of many a pastor in a manufacturing town. For evident reasons these subjects cannot well be discussed in detail in the pulpit without dividing churches. This fact does not prevent preachers from studying them thoroughly, discussing them in private, and wielding all the apparatus of the church fitly to save floating populations. Nothing brings the operative class to church more quickly than some discussion there of their interests. If topics like these are not to be taken up often in the pulpit, they can in many churches at least occasionally be discussed there, or in public halls. It ought to be shown by the ministry of New England that the great wheel of the factory does not turn the pulpit. [Applause.] The bondage of the pulpit, I believe, is not very great now. We can defend justice, and retain our parishes; but the day may come when, unless we defend justice early, we cannot defend it, and retain our places, or retain united congregations. The expediency of discussing these topics results from the growth of manufacturing populations in New England, and the use demagogues are already swift to make of the accumulating explosive social materials. Both the trenches of death, the moral and the physical, will be filled oftener and oftener unless the topic of wages is discussed sharply, publicly, resolutely, defiantly.

"With fingers weary and worn,
With eyelids heavy and red,
A woman sat in unwomanly rags,
Plying her needle and thread.
Stitch, stitch, stitch,
Seam and gusset and band,
Band and gusset and seam,
Till over the buttons I fall asleep,
And sew them on in a dream."

Eighty-two cents a day for female labor in Massachusetts emphasize even these well-known lines of Thomas Hood's: —

"Work, work, work.
And my labor never flags;
And what are its wages? a bed of straw,
A crust of bread — and rags;
That shattered roof, and this naked floor,
A table, a broken chair;
And a wall so blank, my shadow I thank
For sometimes falling there!
Stitch, stitch, stitch,
Would that these tones could reach the rich!"

HOOD: *The Song of the Shirt.*

VII.

WAGES AND CHILDREN'S RIGHTS.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTEENTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, DEC. 16.

"What is to become of our Cotton-trade?" cried certain Spinners, when the Factory-Bill was proposed; "What is to become of our invaluable Cotton-trade?" The Humanity of England answered steadfastly: "Deliver me these rickety perishing souls of infants, and let your Cotton-trade take its chance. *God Himself commands the one thing; not God especially the other thing.* We cannot have prosperous Cotton-trades at the expense of keeping the Devil a partner in them!" — CARLYLE.

There is a mighty stir now made in behalf of education, and I heartily thank God for it; but let me ask you to what purpose it is to take a little child, a young female for instance, and teach her for six hours a day the rules of decency and every virtue, and then send her back to such abodes of filth and profligacy, as to make her unlearn by the practice of an hour the lessons of a year. When in early life these persons have been treated as swine, they are afterwards expected to walk with the dignity of Christians. — LORD SHAFTESBURY: *House of Commons.*

VII.

WAGES AND CHILDREN'S RIGHTS.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

It is a cheerful sign of the times, that nearly all large temperance efforts in America have of late voluntarily put themselves into full sympathy with aggressive Christianity. Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Murphy, and especially the woman's movement, are in substantial accord with the heart of the churches.

1. So far as drunkenness is a vice, it is to be reformed, and the treatment of it belongs to the Church.

2. So far as drunkenness is a disease, it is to be cured, and the treatment of it belongs to physicians.

3. But the assertion that all or most of habitual drunkenness is a disease is not supported by the best physiological authorities, however loudly it may have been indorsed by the proprietors of inebriate-asylums.

The theory that drunkenness is oftener a disease than a vice is going out of fashion among experts. Dr. Bucknill, recently a foremost visitor of lunatics

in Great Britain, and a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, has lately made a vehement attack on that theory. Eight or ten years ago inebriate-asylums in the United States were held up as models to Great Britain. Mr. Dalrymple of Parliament took American testimony, which was supposed to prove that thirty-four per cent of the patients treated in our inebriate-asylums were cured. Dr. Bucknill came to this country in 1875, when the wave of popular excitement concerning inebriate-asylums had subsided to a large extent; and his book is intended to discredit the theory that habitual drunkenness is usually a disease. The attack is from the highest authority. This volume, from a great specialist in nervous disease, is a vigorous proclamation of the theory that habitual drunkenness in most cases is a vice to be reformed by moral measures, rather than a disease to be cured. Dr. Bucknill thinks practical Christianity is the best remedy for habitual drunkenness. [Applause.] The Binghamton Inebriate Asylum, at one time deservedly a prominent figure in the public eye, was not long ago put on trial for a year, and told to its face by the New York legislature, that, unless it managed its affairs better, it would be suspended at the end of that period of probation. Pennsylvania found her inebriate-asylum at Media so badly managed that she abolished it. At Ward's Island, near New York, there was lately abolished an inebriate-asylum, at which a prominent physician from the City Hospital, according to Dr. Bucknill's testimony, once found five patients able to offer him

a choice of spirits in their own rooms. The asylum was on an island, but the boatmen from New York understood signals from the windows. At Binghamton liquor could be obtained by a half-hour's walk in almost any direction.

Upper Canada, now called Ontario, built a great establishment at Hamilton, with the intention of making it an inebriate-asylum; but she has of late abandoned her intention entirely, and given, as a reason for doing so, the failure of the inebriate-asylums in the United States. She has turned now the whole establishment she opened at Hamilton into an asylum for the insane, and repealed her statute for the control of inebriates. (BUCKNILL, Dr. JOHN CHARLES, *Habitual Drunkenness and Insane Drunkards*, London, 1878, pp. 72, 73.)

I am not assailing without qualification inebriate-asylums, for I believe there is a percentage of cases that should be treated in such establishments; but it is a smaller percentage than the self-interest and avarice of some of the managers of private asylums, both in the United States and Great Britain, have often proclaimed it to be. A real case of insane drunkenness or dipsomania is accompanied by signs which expert physicians can usually read. Periodicity is usually one of them; heredity is another; and, when both these mark a case, drunkenness is no doubt fitly called a disease rather than a vice.

Seven cases out of ten of habitual drunkenness, however, our best experts tell us, are vice and not disease. If all vehement craving for drink is disease,

then a keg of fire-water may convert a group of savages into madmen before they have tasted it. The power of the pledge shows that in most cases drunkenness is a vice, and not a disease. Dr. Bucknill tells the story of an eccentric at Rugby, who promised the school-physician that he would not touch drink for a year, although he had been what is called a confirmed drunkard. His case had been supposed to be one of disease; but he kept his pledge, and won a wager from the physician. At twelve o'clock on the ending of the year, he began to drink again, and never ceased until he died.

Very surly is the deep tone of recent science concerning what is called moderate drinking. Dr. Bucknill writes: "Of late years the upper class of English has become sober, and its growing opinion stamps drunkenness more and more as a disgrace; and that some small proportion of its members are left behind in the shameful indulgence of the old vice, is certainly not a matter of national concern. But they will ruin themselves! No doubt; and why should they not? Their possessions will be better placed in sober hands, and their undeserved social position will be yielded to the advance of more worthy candidates. But they will kill themselves! And this also is more likely than lamentable, especially if they leave no offspring to inherit the curse of their qualities. It would be a national, nay, a world-wide blessing, if alcohol were really the active poison which it is so often represented to be, that men who indulge in it might die off quickly. The French have somewhat

improved upon pure spirit in this direction by the invention of absinthe, which causes epilepsy; and the Americans, with their vile compounds of raw whiskey taken into empty stomachs, are far ahead of ourselves. An American drunkard who sticks to his work has a much better prospect of finishing it within a reasonably short time than the Englishman."

Sixty years ago Lyman Beecher attended an ordination at which forty dollars' worth of liquors were drunk by New England ministers. To-day Mrs. Hayes —whom may God bless! — expels intoxicating beverages from the Presidential mansion.

4. So far as drunkenness as a vice leads to drunkenness as a disease, the Church, under the modern training of theological students, is likely to know, better than ever before, how to emphasize the truths of science for the warning of the middle-aged and the young.

In 1867 there was founded at Princeton College a professorship for the discussion of the relations between Christianity and science. In the Princeton Theological Seminary there is a chair for a similar purpose. There is a professorship, with ten thousand dollars behind it, in Union Theological Seminary, for the discussion of the relations of the Bible and science. The Vedder lectureship in New Brunswick is devoted to similar themes. Willard Parker founded a professorship of hygiene in Union Theological Seminary. At Andover there has just been established a professorship, with fifty thousand dol-

lars behind it, to discuss the relations of science and Christianity. In view of these new endowments, I undertake to say that unless we, whose duty it is to teach religious truth publicly, inform ourselves on the relations of religion and science, we shall be behind the times fifteen years hence, or twenty, when the men come forward who have been trained in these improved courses of study. The relations of the church to temperance are therefore not unimportant on the purely scientific side. Already the demand is growing loud for the introduction into common schools and sabbath schools of some instruction on the natural laws of health in their relations to intemperance; and excellent text-books on this topic have been prepared by experts. (See DR. RICHARDSON'S *Cantor Lectures* and his *Text Book on Alcohol.*)

Forbes Winslow, the celebrated English physician for the insane, once told a committee of Parliament that he could dip out of the brain of any habitual drunkard a fluid so full of alcohol that when put in a spoon, and a lamp placed beneath it, the liquid would burn with a blue flame. Perhaps the two most important physical circumstances which can be pointed out in relation to alcohol are that it hardens all the colloid or glue-like substances in the body, and that it has a local affinity for the brain. Alcohol hardens the white of an egg. The brain, and much of the matter in the nervous system, is albuminous in chemical composition, as the white of an egg is; and as alcohol everywhere else hardens colloid sub-

stances, so it does in the brain. The blue flame which Forbes Winslow emphasizes shows the affinity of alcohol for the brain, and should be kept burning as a pillar of fire before tempted men. There is a famous saying of Hyrtl,—quoted lately in "The Scientific American,"—that he could tell in the dark whether he was dissecting a drunkard's brain or the brain of a temperate man, for the former would be hard under the scalpel. He used to explain to his pupils that the only way to obtain good brains for dissection was to harden them by alcohol, or to find brains that had been hardened before death.

5. So far as drunkenness depends on open temptation to it, the interests of trade and politics require the shutting by law of all public doors to vice; and in furtherance of this work the Church may well put forth its best energies, and invoke the aid of woman's vote.

There are eight miles of legalized grog-shops in Boston. (*Report of the Advisory Committee of the Massachusetts Temperance Alliance*, Oct. 18, 1877.) [Applause.] Take the licensed dram-shops of Boston, allow each one twenty feet of front, put them in a line, and you have eight miles of manufactories of madmen and paupers. [Applause.] Has Massachusetts, paying such taxes that her elections often turn on schemes for a reduction of the burdens of the people, nothing to say about the execution of temperance laws? Eight solid miles engaged in a business at war with every other traffic! When the shrewd black angels watch cities at midnight, it

must be that they laugh a little at the merchants engaged in honorable trades, to see how the latter are fleeced by the proprietors of whiskey-dens. The indictment to be brought against the liquor-traffic, in the name of trade, is that it can succeed only by standing on the ruins of other trades. It is a pirate; it is a leech; it is the enemy of all honest traffic. That citizens in the honorable pursuits of mercantile life are not to a man united against the unlicensed dram-shops in Boston and New York and throughout the world, is a puzzle, I think, to the acutest black angels that move to and fro through the midnights of the planet.

Our church property in the United States, all massed together, is worth only three hundred and fifty-four millions of dollars. The drink-bill of the United States is seven hundred millions of dollars a year. That is an estimate by the National Bureau of Statistics. There is no accurate return even in the revenue department.

It has been shown again and again that the financial loss sustained by the sale of drinks amounts, every fifteen years, to a value equal to that of the property destroyed in the five years of the civil war. Every one knows that statements of this kind are facts, and not declamation. A civil war for five years, every fifteen years, would destroy no more property than the rum traffic!

It is said the church can do nothing with the gigantic Apollyon of the liquor-trade, striding across the whole breadth of the mercantile highway. The

ministry of the United States, without going out of their own houses of worship, have opportunity to reach with the living voice twenty-three millions of people. That is the number of sittings in the churches of the United States, and I suppose that on an average for the year most ministers address as many people as can be brought together in their churches. Probably twenty-three millions, who are old enough to go to church, are effectively reached by the voice of the pulpit in this land.

What if the church should be as stern with rich proprietors of property used for dram-shops as the law of Massachusetts is at this hour? When the proprietor of a block of buildings at the North End lets a cellar there, if the tenant violates the temperance laws, and is convicted, notice is served on the proprietor, according to the Massachusetts law, as it now stands; and he is required, under the old law of common nuisance, to eject that tenant under penalty. That is what the State requires of the rich proprietor of property. What does the church of the Heavenly Rest require of that proprietor, if he is a church-member? Why, that he should go on with his heavenly rest, and pay his bills in the church! [Applause.] Do you believe that the world is likely to be deeply impressed by our temperance addresses when average church discipline on that point is laxer than the Massachusetts secular law of to-day? I have no church, you say, and can say these things with impunity. If I had a church, and could not say them with impunity, I should not have a church

long. I had rather be penniless than a pulpit spaniel. [Applause.]

There stands a noble State House in the cornfields near Springfield, Ill., and Lincoln's grave lies under its shadow. Above his grave, a legislature will be petitioned this winter by ladies of Illinois to give women of legal age the right to vote in cases of local option under temperance-laws. The petitioners are not female-suffragists. They protest against being called by that name. The queen of lecturesses, Mrs. Livermore, a lady whose eloquence has had a larger public recognition than that of any other woman in ancient or modern times, is president of the Massachusetts Woman's Temperance Union, and informs New England that the seaboard and the Mississippi Valley are to unite in asking a vote for woman in regard to the temperance-laws. The language of the West and that of the East are nearly the same. The Chicago women say, "We petition that by suitable legislation it may be provided that in the State of Illinois the question of licensing at any time, in any locality, the sale of any and all intoxicating drinks, including wine and beer, be submitted to and determined by ballot, in which women of lawful age shall be privileged to take part in the same manner and under only such restrictions as obtain in reference to voting by men on the question of license." The Massachusetts Temperance Union passes this resolution: "That, while we disavow any connection with the general movement for giving the ballot to women, we yet believe that woman should have the right to

vote on all questions relating to the legislation on the liquor-traffic, and we hereby resolve that we will petition the legislature for this right until it is granted to us." [Applause.]

Let that thunder be heard in the General Court [applause], and heard loudly, for politicians are not likely to take the lead on this subject. After ten years of experience of woman's suffrage, Wyoming Territory, by the voice of three of her governors, proclaims it a success. (*Cheyenne Daily Leader*, Nov. 22.) In New Hampshire, the line has already been broken as to the exclusion of women from participation in the settlement of questions closely touching the home. Let it be noticed that New Hampshire, a conservative New-England State, has just given women the right to vote on all questions concerning the school-laws. [Applause.] I am not a woman-suffragist. Do not applaud this platform under the mistaken idea that I am a defender of extreme positions as to woman's rights. I am meditating on that theme. [Applause.] But this I dare say, that one of the fragments of self-protection for women — namely, a right to vote concerning temperance-laws, when the question of local option is up — I am willing to defend, and intend to defend, to the end of the chapter. [Applause.] Great natural justice is on the side of such a demand. Woman's interests are among the chief ones concerned; and as to family divisions, why, they come largely from temperance laxness. Woman has surely political intelligence enough to understand the difference

between license and no license, especially when she has suffered under a lax execution of temperance-laws. The difference is so plain, between local freedom and no local freedom to sell liquor, that woman, without any great participation in the turmoil of politics, might be expected to have an intelligent vote on this subject. I know that many cultivated and refined women say they do not want women to vote, because they do not want to increase the amount of ignorant suffrage. We all respect the intelligence and the refinement of the ladies who make such remarks; and yet I believe that on most moral questions, woman is likely to be more intelligent and certainly more disinterested than man. [Applause.] I am told by many of the best authorities, that women, who are opposed to female suffrage at large, are usually in favor of this modified measure. I am assured that a majority of the thoughtful, cultivated women of the United States, or certainly of the Northern States, can be expected to favor this demand for a vote to be given to woman in questions of local option concerning temperance-laws. If a majority of women want such a vote, Heaven grant their desire! [Applause.] Women would be united on this topic. Woman's vote would be, to city vices depending on intemperance, what the lightning is to the oak. God send us that lightning! [Applause.]

On the table of the chief of police of Boston, there lies a complete catalogue of all the mentionable and unmentionable dens of iniquity in this city. He does not close them, because you do not urge him

into the work of doing so. Who is responsible? The hand, or the shoulder and the heart below the shoulder? On that same table of the chief of police, there lies now a license-law, and how is it executed? In the county of Suffolk, in the year ending October, 1877, 1,667 cases of violation of the temperance-law were brought before the Superior Court; 29 of them were tried, 14 only were convicted; more than 1,100 were laid on file; and the officer through whose oily fingers most of these cases slipped is renominated. (*Official Report of the Massachusetts Temperance Alliance.* See also a speech by Mr. W. F. SPALDING, in a hearing given by the Legislative Committee on the Liquor Law, Jan. 30, 1878.)

That law, thus administered, lies on the table of your chief of police; and what lies above it? A proposal for a local-option law; and that is weighted down by a veto, although there were cast in favor of such a law the votes of two-thirds of the members of one political party in your General Court. Massachusetts is Christian; Massachusetts retires to her closet to pray. Can she ask God's blessing on a license-law? Can she ask God's blessing on a catalogue of legalized dens of iniquity? Eight miles of doors, and all the evil their traffic does in Massachusetts, exists according to law!

God paralyze my arm, if I ever lift it to cast a ballot in favor of the license of leeches on legitimate trade, or for the legalization of manufactories of paupers and madmen! [Applause.] God paralyze my arm, if ever I put into the ballot-box a vote in favor

of any form of temperance legislation clamorously demanded by the liquor-traffic itself! [Applause.] "Drink no wine or strong drink," was the message to the wife of Manoah, from an angel whose name was secret and divine, and of whom the record is that he did wondrously. I undertake to predict, in the words of Henry Wilson, that what the people of Massachusetts, the great masses, cannot pray God for, cannot go on the statute-book of this Commonwealth, and stay there. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

American laborers are not expected to live like Chinamen; and Chinamen, when they become Americans, will not live like citizens of the Celestial Empire. The way to lift the Chinese question out of being a puzzle to our politicians and philanthropists, is to change the habits of the Chinese, little by little, into those of American laborers. The progress of democracy has made inapplicable the standards of expense to which low-paid labor was accustomed in barbaric times. I do not discuss skilled labor, but the poorest of the poor. The cost of maintaining a hundred thousand paupers in the city of London, in 1875, was officially ascertained to be five times as great as that of maintaining a similar number in 1815. The difference arises almost entirely from the fact that the average popular estimate of what is humanly necessary to maintain even the poorest of the poor has risen. In fifty years Great Britain has lifted her estimate on this point so rapidly that she

spends five times as much for a given number of paupers now as she did fifteen years after the opening of the century. (Prof. BONAMY PRICE, *Practical Political Economy*, 1878, p. 237.) Using the scale of London expenses for paupers to show what necessary expenses must be, you will find that the modern world often exposes children as pitilessly to be crushed under the wheels of trade as the Spartans of old exposed infants on Mount Taygetus.

1. The expenses and earnings of 397 families depending on wages were officially ascertained in Massachusetts in 1874. (*Labor Bureau Report for* 1875, Part IV.)

2. So far as can be judged by this large induction, the largest ever made in the world, only thirty-five per cent of the heads of working-men's families in Massachusetts were able by their individual earnings to supply their families' needs.

3. Sixty-four per cent rely on the assistance of wives and children.

4. Under low-paid labor one of the earliest infringements of the rights of children is that they are left at home under poor care while the mothers are in the mills.

5. Another infringement is the lack of household training for girls.

What does this mean? To bring the matter at once to a point, let me cite a letter I received lately from one of the ladies leading in the management of our industrial reformatory schools: "In every report of young woman and Christian associations and

unions, as in every report of a young girls' home or industrial school, and every intelligence-office, thoughtfully conducted, and every other place in which girls seek employment, the lack of trained skill is the one ceaseless hinderance." How does this lack arise?

Mr. Mundella, when he moved in Parliament, a few years ago, for a reduction of the hours of labor of married women, said that one hundred and eighty thousand mothers are in the factories of England, and that their children have little opportunity to learn how to conduct household work. The slatternly housekeeping of the daughters of the mothers who must be early and late at the looms, is a proverb. Although you say New England has very few of the difficulties Mr. Mundella struck at in his famous bill against the employment of married women in factories, we are likely to have such difficulties in due time. The present transition state of New England is setting fashions for many years to come, and this audience is an outlook-committee for the centuries next before us. Already we have thrust in our faces the lack of trained skill as the ceaseless hinderance to employment even in domestic work of the young women who seek places through our intelligence-offices and young women's Christian associations and young girls' homes. My correspondent says: "The city public schools can, at their best, do but a partial work. The children of the very poor have no homes in which this partial school training is supplemented by training in good personal habits. The

girl — if, indeed, any chance to learn by imitation were possible to her in the usual evil neighborhood of the poorest homes — has not the out-door chance of the boy to learn better things. Many of these little girls who come into our industrial schools cannot set a stitch. How, then, shall they have the economy and neatness in attire essential to the first success in getting work of any sort? These poor little girls are not unknown as patients in hospitals for evil diseases before fifteen years of age."

Silenus and other wild beasts wander yet over Mount Taygetus, on which the children are exposed to death! What is the trouble here? The answer is that sixty-four per cent of the wages class in Massachusetts rely for the support of their families on the assistance of wives and children! Dull statistics, you say? As part of the family record of your descendants, they will not be dull!

6. Of skilled workmen, fifty-six per cent get along alone; of salaried overseers, seventy-five per cent; of unskilled workmen, only nine per cent.

7. The skilled workman obtains five per cent of the money needed to support his family, and the unskilled nineteen, from the labor of children under fifteen years of age.

This is not Prussia, nor France, nor Austria, nor England. This is New England, in its early manufacturing career.

8. Children constitute forty-four per cent of the number of work-people, and produce but twenty-four per cent of the income.

9. In families which the father is unable to support alone, sixteen and one-third per cent of the income is the result of labor of wives and of children under fifteen years of age.

10. In order that these wives may remain at home, and these children attend school, this sixteen and one-third per cent must be added to the wages of the father.

11. The unnaturally low remuneration of labor is a direct temptation to the violation of the rights of children, by the forcing of them into work when they should be at school, and thus fosters the growth of an ignorant class, which is likely to be also an unemployed, explosive, and perhaps criminal class.

12. The yearly average expenditure for the food of a working-man's family is four hundred and twenty-two dollars and sixteen cents.

What are the necessary expenses, not of a Mexican in the tropics, but of a family in the climate of our Northern States; not of a coolie, but of an American citizen educating sons to become a part of our popular sovereignty under universal suffrage?

13. If we are not to have an ignorant popular sovereignty, among the necessary expenses of American working-men, besides food, we must reckon these dozen articles: rent, fuel, boots and shoes, clothing, dry goods, taxes, school-books, furniture, tools, newspapers, religion, and sundries, including sickness.

It has been found, by official investigation in Massachusetts, that the yearly average expenditure for the food of a family of the laboring class is four

hundred and twenty-two dollars and sixteen cents. Food includes groceries, meat and fish and milk. Kerosene-oil and lights are reckoned under the head of groceries.

14. These twelve other necessary articles will cost, on the average, nearly as much as the food.

This deduction is not found in your State reports, for your overworked bureau cannot always press out from the rich grapes of its own statistics all the wine of truth they may contain. I have personally gone through the record given here in detail of the expenses of about three hundred families, and I am forced to this conclusion.

15. It follows that unless the head of a family, with children who cannot labor remuneratively, is paid about twice as much as the cost of his uncooked food, he is likely to fall into debt.

16. The purchasing power of a day's labor ought to be at least equal to twice the cost of the unprepared food of the laborer. Of course the price of food may vary, and so may wages. When food costs four hundred and twenty-two dollars a year for a family that cannot earn any thing except by the work of the head of the household, that family ought to have somewhere about eight hundred and fifty dollars coming to it, otherwise it will inevitably graduate members unfit to become part of our popular sovereignty. Sound popular sovereignty will not be the result if you shorten in any considerable degree the list of necessities I have mentioned. Get along without school-books? Get along without

newspapers? Get along without attendance at church? You say these are not necessaries of life for Chinamen? They are for Americans. [Applause.]

17. The relation of earnings to the cost of living in Massachusetts is now such that the fact stands out plainly that the head of a family who is "the recipient of a wage of less than six hundred dollars must get in debt." That is the language of your bureau (*Report for* 1875, p. 380) in summarizing its investigation of the average condition of three hundred and ninety-seven families. Some of these contained only a few children, some had more; but that was the average.

18. Without children's assistance, the majority of working-men's families would be in poverty or debt.

19. Children under fifteen years of age supply by their labor from one-eighth to one-sixth of the total family earnings.

20. Although the average saving is about three per cent of the earnings, only in a few cases is there evidence of the possibility of acquiring a competence, and in those cases it would be the result of assisted or family labor.

These twenty propositions are the heart of my theme, and need much illustration; but I have stated them in tolerably close serial order, so that their interdependence may be seen at a glance.

There is in my hands a letter from a man of affairs in this city, and its topic is low-paid female labor. There is no red-hot gridiron here, otherwise I should

like to grill upon it in a public presence the man who suggested infamy to a girl as a means of increasing her wages behind a counter. You would like to broil thus any man doing that. I suppose the case was a great exception; but I have excellent evidence that there is no exaggeration in what I am about to read to you. This is not an anonymous letter; but the writer, who signs it with his own full name, is recorded in the directory of the city to which he belongs, and his occupation is mentioned. "A young lady, whose family became reduced in worldly circumstances, felt that she must try to do something for herself, and therefore she applied at a large retail dry-goods house for a situation. 'Yes,' said the proprietor, 'we will take you; your salary will be ——' (naming the price). 'Oh, sir,' said she, 'I can't live upon that.' 'I understand you, miss,' was the reply. 'Several of these girls don't live upon what we pay them. Do you see that young lady there? We pay her just what I offer you: a young man pays her the rest.'" I wish the gridiron were here for the broiling. [Applause.] "I know whereof I affirm," continues this writer, whose letter aroused an indignation I dare not express here; "and I think that when it comes to this, the matter goes a step beyond low wages." This is simply an illustration of one effect of low wages. "Please remember that this young woman was not only a person of high character and good family, but also a perfect stranger to this merchant."

If you could see letters that come to me from

many quarters, signed and bearing responsible names, you would not think that I am pressing the topic of low-paid labor to extremes. I have taken great pains to avoid being caught in any traps. That letter, before I read it, was shown to three or four experts; and the signature I know to be authentic, and the character of the man who wrote it is vouched for in a great variety of ways to me. Let it be granted that this is an exception; but when an exception like this occurs, when there is a possibility of a class of low-paid girls coming into conditions of this sort, where is Massachusetts? Where is the spirit of the fathers, that we do not arouse ourselves to execute legislation like that of the old law of 1670?

Our fathers had not been on this shore fifty years before they passed a law intended to rescue the country from the barbarism of an uneducated working population. The earliest Massachusetts statutes are full of reverence for learning; but here is a passage from an enactment of 1650 that has in it a trumpet-like prophetic tone for our day: —

"Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any commonwealth, and whereas many parents and masters are too indulgent and negligent of their duty in that kind, it is therefore ordered by this court and the authority thereof, that the selectmen of every town, in the several precincts and quarters where they dwell, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors, to see, first, that none of them shall

suffer so much barbarism in any of their families, as not to endeavor to teach by themselves or others their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue and knowledge of the capital laws, upon penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein."

Contemporaneous with the incorporation of companies for manufacturing purposes, the General Assembly of Connecticut, in its May session for 1813, passed laws to secure the elementary instruction of children employed in factories and manufacturing establishments. These early provisions were absorbed into the Connecticut statutes of 1838, and are claimed to be the first American legislation on behalf of factory-children.

The deputy State constable of Massachusetts reported in 1875, that there were then "in this Commonwealth upwards of sixty thousand children, of school ages, who are growing up in ignorance, contrary to the ancient policy of the State, and in open violation of the letter and spirit of existing laws." (*Report on the Schooling and Hours of Labor of Children*, by GEORGE E. MCNEILL, Jan. 11, 1875.) These numbers others think are too large for the facts, but look forward, and you will soon double the figures, at the rate at which manufacturing centres are increasing in population. These children grow up ignorant because of the low wages which require fathers to send the children into the mills. They grow up without knowing, if they are girls, how to set a stitch, because their mothers must be

behind looms, and because a home left in the care of very young or aged persons is no place in which to teach housekeeping in detail. They grow up slatternly, and so find it difficult to obtain situations. They grow up open at various points to moral temptations which would not assail them if a higher spirit of self-respect had been fostered by giving the head of the family power to maintain his household.

Advocating no socialistic proposition, and defending no communistic dream, I yet believe the day will come when the cost of its production will determine the pay of labor. The cost of production includes the support of a family. We cannot give the State the strength of its citizens on any rule that starves men. We cannot produce a skilled class unless we bring our children up well. Unless we have a certain regard for skill as well as for the mill, the mill itself will be without skilled operatives. In time there cannot be a fit laboring class provided, unless you give such wages as will enable an average head of a family to put among his expenses school-books, newspapers, and religion. There must be somewhere a lifting of the income of the lowest-paid class of laborers: otherwise we shall have monstrosity after monstrosity, and the heart of girlhood wrung until the gutters are full of the ruddy slime. My theme is not socialism so much as labor-reform as an antidote to socialism. My theme is, in short, justice as an antidote to the dreams of political heretics. Until justice is held up as a broad shield against the darts of all insane communists and infuriated socialists, we

shall be pierced again and again with arrows like this poisoned one which I hold in my hand [holding up the letter cited above], and lift aloft for your execration. [Applause.]

VIII.

NATURAL AND STARVATION WAGES.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEENTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, DEC. 23.

Society is divided into two classes, the shearers and the shorn. We should always be with the former, against the latter. — TALLEYRAND.

We have profoundly forgotten everywhere that *Cash-payment* is not the sole relation of human beings; we think, nothing doubting, that *it* absolves and liquidates all engagements of man. "My starving workers?" answers the rich Mill-owner: "Did not I hire them fairly in the market? Did I not pay them, to the last sixpence, the sum covenanted for? What have I to do with them more?" . . . When Cain, for his own behoof, had killed Abel, and was questioned, "Where is thy brother?" he too made answer, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Did I not pay my brother *his* wages, the thing he had merited from me? O sumptuous Merchant-Prince, illustrious game-preserving Duke, is there no way of 'killing' thy brother but Cain's rude way! — CARLYLE.

VIII.

NATURAL AND STARVATION WAGES.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

PLACE before Mormonism the broad shield of State rights, and very possibly that defence will be vulnerable only by the bayonet. Utah once admitted to the Union will govern herself, and her peculiar institutions will be out of the reach of Congress. Polygamy imitates slavery in seeking to intrench itself behind the fateful bulwarks of State rights. Of course the clamor is becoming very loud for the admission of Utah, since she now has one hundred and thirty thousand people, and Nevada was admitted with forty thousand. That historic political party which denounced slavery and polygamy as twin relics of barbarism, and cut the former of these cancers off the breast of America by the long, deep plunges of the sword through five years of civil war, is no longer in power in Congress. In the exigencies of political strife a time may easily arrive when the prize of two senators and several representatives will induce the dominant party at Washington to admit Utah with polygamy. The agent of that territory is authorized

to give the vote of Utah to the party which admits her with her peculiar institutions. Mormonism possessed of State rights, and defying American law, is the blackest threat in the low, lurid vapor which lies behind Pike's Peak in the sunset. Beyond the Mormon cloud the Chinese question spreads itself across the deepest western sky, as a dull, thunderous, copper haze. So distant, however, are the lightnings which peer fitfully at the East from over the stern shoulders of the Sierras and the Rocky Mountains, that we hear little of the local thunders, and dream that both the black and the copper cloud will dissolve soon, and without storms. In precisely this indifference of ours to these distant threats lie their chief dangers.

Until the stains of slavery and of Mexico and of Mormonism are erased from the American map, the Northern States, with their mismanaged large cities, are not safe. Wendell Phillips says that no thoughtful man can feel sure that one flag will rule this belt of the continent fifty years hence. (*North American Review*, August, 1876, p. 101.) The education of the South and of the South-west is the remaining measure which the North must execute for the preservation of the peace of the land. Every year it becomes more evident that America is to stand or fall according as she does or does not educate the South and South-west. Until the dark mass of illiteracy is greatly whitened on the Gulf and along the Mexican border and in Utah, serious trouble may arise at any time in the United States from the collision of the uneducated portions

with the educated. The deepest shadows on that part of our territory which was once Mexican come from Romanism and a despotic government. The whole region of the lower basin between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierras has been ploughed and sown by Romanism for hundreds of years. Into this territory Mormonism is spreading.

What is Utah worth to the United States? Bend a bow along the Pacific coast, its middle at San Francisco, one of the ends at Yellowstone Park and the other on the southern hills of New Mexico. This colossal arc represents a volcanic rift along which are found the best gold and silver mines of America. The Central Pacific Railway is the arrow, and the Rocky Mountain range is the drawn strand of this bow. San Francisco is the barb of the arrow, and Salt Lake City is the chief feather on the shaft. The string of the bow has twisted among its strands many threads of silver and gold. Utah, in short, has a central position in the most important mining region on the planet. A railroad is to connect Oregon with Mexico through the Basin States. One railway already crosses Utah from sunrise to sunset, and so she is at the intersection of two great ways. Men in Utah, whose judgment is to be respected, affirm that the Southern Pacific Railroad will be drawn into Southern Utah by the value of her coal and lead mines. My impression is that the silver and gold mines in New Mexico will carry that new railway south of Santa Fé. But the Basin States, of which Utah is the heart, will ultimately have three in-

tersections of the Oregon and Mexico Railway with three Pacific roads. President Tenney, in his breezy, keen volume on the New West, makes that title cover both the Basin and the Mountain States, — or Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Utah, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana. Utah is central in a group of undeveloped commonwealths containing nearly a third of the territory of the United States. The New West is a region apparently set apart by geological circumstances for self-rule. It is certainly destined to exhibit anomalous political and social traits, unless it is pierced with lines of intercommunication from both sunrise and sunset.

What has happened between the Sierras and the Rocky Mountains in territory thus strategic in position?

1. In 1828 an ignorant, indolent, and not reputable young man, named Joseph Smith, born in 1805, at Sharon, Vt., began to claim that he was a prophet.

2. In 1830 he announced that he had dug out of a hill in Manchester, in New York State, the Book of Mormon. Although his fellow-conspirators, deserting him, denounced this claim as a fraud, he published the book, and began to collect followers among the ignorant. Certain experiences like those familiar now in Spiritualism, which was not then known, were among the misleading supports of Smith's pretensions. (See STENHOUSE, *Rocky Mountain Saints*, p. 33.)

3. He and his associates were driven in 1838 from Kirtland, O., where he failed as president of a bank.

4. His debaucheries were denounced by some of

his followers; and in 1843 he pretended to receive a revelation in favor of polygamy.

5. Razing to the ground the office of a newspaper which exposed his immoralities, he was shot dead by a mob at Carthage, Ill., in 1844.

6. Expelled from Nauvoo, Ill., in 1844, the Mormons, under Brigham Young, reached Salt Lake in July, 1847. The territory then belonged to Mexico, but it became a part of the United States in March, 1848.

7. Originally denounced by the Book of Mormon, polygamy was introduced by Young as an institution in 1852.

8. Notwithstanding the death of Brigham Young in 1877, the despotic hierarchy which he founded, and which is supported by a severe tithing system, a merciless secret police, and the power of life and death, is successful in carrying forward his work, both in its political and its social aspect.

There have been more Mormon marriages in Utah in the last two years than ever before in the same length of time. Polygamous marriages are contracted in temples called endowment-houses. These are being erected throughout the territory in large numbers and at great expense. No Gentile is permitted to enter them. Even apostates will not reveal the oaths taken in the Mormon endowment-houses; and, to maintain contracts made there, witnesses and juries perjure themselves.

9. Three or four hundred missionaries are constantly at work abroad; and they induced some two

thousand Mormon emigrants to come to this country between April and October in 1878.

10. The Mormons have the balance of power in Idaho, and are acquiring influence rapidly in Arizona and Colorado.

11. It is estimated that there are now two hundred thousand Mormons in Utah and its vicinity, and fifty thousand in other countries.

12. Thus it happens that between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierras there is a district larger than New England, in which a majority of the population teaches its children that, —

(1) God has a bodily form.

(2) He is the celestial patron of polygamy.

(3) Jesus was a pattern to his disciples in this respect.

(4) Polygamy on earth gives rank in heaven.

(5) Mothers should be responsible for the support of their children.

(6) Mother and daughter may be wives of one husband. (See the Mormon Catechism, *passim*, and also President TENNEY, *Circulars of Colorado College*, December, 1878.)

This is the Mormon ulcer, fattening itself on the intermural basin between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierras. Utah is the American Syria. Let the soil have due irrigation, and it needs only to be tickled with the hoe, as the proverb says, in order to laugh into harvests. You say the sage-bush is a mark of desolation; but irrigate the pastures covered with it, and you have bountiful harvests. As in Syria,

when you irrigate the Jericho plain, you have most vigorous growths, and as on the plain of Gennesaret there were originally growths reminding one of the vegetation on the borders of the Nile, so to-day irrigation gives extraordinary fruitfulness to the cultivated lands of Utah.

What is the strength of Mormonism? I find that this cancer has five roots, and the first is the hierarchal organization of the Mormon ecclesiastical power. One in five of the Mormons is a church officer. The highest officer is not only a governor possessed of nearly absolute power, but also a prophet; and he at any time may receive a revelation reversing all past revelations. If you could smite away the hierarchal organization of Mormonism in its lower ranges, it would still have power as long as the belief of the average Mormon in his prophet should continue. But pulverize that keystone, and you cause the whole arch to tumble. Let the average Mormon be convinced that his prophet is no more in communion with the Unseen Power than any man may be, let the pretension of the Mormon hierarchy to enlightenment by revelations from on high be once discredited, and Mormonism, so far as it is a system of thought, becomes a heap of nonsense. In smiting at this keystone, we need to use educational weapons.

A second root of Mormonism is its connection with land-speculations. Go to Europe, enter the peasant homes of Norway and Sweden, and you will find Mormon agents whispering in the ears of credulous ignorance that Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones, who

were once neighbors of the peasants addressed, now have lands in Utah, and that the Mormon Church gave it to them. Pinched men and women are told that if they will go to America, and unite with the Mormon Church, they shall have land. The emigrant, harassed by poverty, finds that he does acquire property in land in Utah, and that he is indebted for his protection in his home and for his political privileges to the Mormon Church. In his ignorance, it may be years before he ascertains that the homestead law of the United States has been behind this Mormon trick. It is understood perfectly well that the Mormon agents abroad promise in their own name what the government promises to emigrants in the way of land.

A third root of Mormonism is its political self-rule. This root has been fed more than once with blood. Mormonism has lived in the wilderness, and has been able to do as it pleased because it was out of sight of civilization. Official investigations preceding the execution in 1877 of John D. Lee for the Mountain Meadows massacre of 1857, showed that the larger part of the stories which have been told us in books, of cruelties to the Gentile emigrants into Utah, are substantially true. I credit the assertion that the avenging angels among the Mormons meant to keep Gentile emigrants out of the territory, and that they not infrequently employed murder of unoffending settlers as a political weapon. I believe that if Brigham Young had had his deserts according to law, he would have passed into the next world earlier than he did.

[Applause.] So far away on the border behind the Rocky Mountains, and close under the Sierras, the power of the United States was so weak that Brigham Young once drove out every United States officer from his territory, and then said, "I am and shall be governor until God Almighty says, 'Brigham, you need be governor no longer.'" God Almighty has said that, but the American Church and American politics never said it.

A fourth deep root of the Mormon power is ignorance. Go into that tabernacle in Salt Lake City, and look into the faces of the people, and you will be reminded of what you see in Castle Garden. Go to the end of New York City, and look at the emigrants in the great building there, and you will be reminded of what you see in the Salt Lake City Tabernacle. Mormonism recruits itself from an often illiterate emigrant population, and it forbids any but the most inefficient parochial schools. Mormon leaders have usually been Americans. I do not accuse all the ringleaders of being dishonest. I suppose that some of them are thoroughly sincere; but it would be a miracle, if, in a republic as large as ours, there were not eccentrics and fools enough to officer Utah, — women, some of them. Thomas Carlyle said there were thirty millions of people in Great Britain, mostly fools. In the United States, such is the condition of education, that it is no miracle at all, that women of the class which sees visions here should see visions in Utah, and that under religious excitement and the power of custom, some

of them should at last crush out the deepest instincts of the feminine nature, and appear to be content in a life fit only for beasts. I am speaking very cautiously, I am weighing all my syllables, when I say that there is at present in Utah no statute law against seduction or adultery. In Southern Utah mothers and daughters are often wives of one husband. This is the ghastly barbarism to which the Gentile ladies of Utah, in a petition to Congress, have lately called national attention, and I am speaking in support of their petition. Brigham Young once told an audience in the Salt Lake City Tabernacle that men are not to be required to take care of their children. The most odious and abominable form of the leper's philosophy is that which puts upon the mother the sole care of her offspring. Even our most loathsome cancer-planters commonly clamor for State aid in the support of illegitimate children; but Brigham Young and Mormonism generally stand on the proposition that it is the mother's duty to provide for her family!

A fifth root of Mormonism is its isolation; and, thank God, the progress of civilization westward is now cutting that root.

Isolation, however, as we have now seen, is not the only root of Mormonism. If we are to remove this cancer from the great intermural basin, we must strike at the other roots, — ignorance the chief one, and political self-rule. Congress is conspicuously right in keeping out of the Union the twin relic of barbarism. [Applause.] The American people, while in its senses, will never be ready to take into

the Senate of the United States, as successors to men who have glorified that place, Mormon representatives with six or twenty wives apiece. We have been sufficiently scandalized by the territorial agent now in Washington, and by his four wives.

More than at any other root, however, we need to strike at the ignorance of the Mormon population. We must treat this territory with a style of Christian charity like that with which we have treated other portions of the West, and with an even more sternly massed Christian front. You cannot carry Christian institutions into Utah without a much more compact massing of your soldiers than you had when you carried schools and churches into Illinois and Ohio. In Utah there is a linked and audacious hierarchy to meet you at every step. In New Mexico you are in the presence of the Jesuits and of a population long steeped in Catholicism. There and in Utah you must have schools as well as churches; you must have the teacher as well as the minister, and you must support both more generously than you did in Iowa or even in Kansas. The conditions are very peculiar in Utah, and we need a peculiar sharpening of our attack; and unless we sharpen the attack, and push it boldly, Utah will be in the Union with her peculiar institutions, and then God knows whether there may not be need of a civil contest to set the State in order.

What are we to do for the educational institutions now springing up in our Western intermural basin? What have we there already? Colorado College,

an institution of which I cannot mention the name without petitions to Almighty Providence for its success! It is not fully on its feet, but is slowly rising to a commanding position, and begins to lift up its hand in blessing over Mormon and Gentile populations. Mexico sees this rising angel as he stands on the Rocky Mountain ranges. Idaho, Arizona, Nevada, Wyoming, Montana, see him. Mormonism sees him and trembles in Utah, and so does Jesuitism in New Mexico. This angel, although not yet on its feet, has reached out his hand to Salt Lake City, and planted there an academy, and at Sante Fé has planted another; and from Lowell, in this Commonwealth, a professor has gone to Salt Lake Academy. It already has eighty pupils, although that school is not eight months old, and half of these students are Mormons. Presbyterians and Methodists have made an excellent beginning in providing education for the Territory. There is an Episcopalian school in Salt Lake City, with nine teachers in it who were Mormons. Give the Mormon youth education enough to awaken their human instincts, and they will resent the destruction of the home. Polygamy is becoming unpopular with the younger class of Mormon believers. Indeed, if I had had a mother who was only an eighth part of a wife, and had seen her abused under the tyrannies of the Mormon hierarchy, my impression is that I should have ceased to be a Mormon, had I been brought up one. The subtle operation of the evil of Mormonism is to disgust the younger population with that insti-

tution. If you educate the young Mormon generations, it is not impossible that soon you may have a new revelation from the head of the Mormon hierarchy, and that it will be against polygamy. [Applause.]

Let us so support schools in the New West, that they will take no craven or apologetic attitude before either Romanism or Mormonism. Let us pour funds into the treasury of Colorado College, and Salt Lake Academy, and Santa Fé Academy, and other similar institutions in Utah and New Mexico.

The Mormon problem, I, for one, do not expect to see settled, unless by the school or by the sword. The choice is between the keen edge of the sword and the keen edge of the Christian school. God give us such wisdom that he may not need at last to send the sword to cut the Mormon cancer out of our sunset shoulder! [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

One of the earls of Warwick Castle, a king-maker, was killed in a civil broil; and the fierce old feudal spirit caused his body to be exposed naked for three days on the floor of St. Paul's in London. Rough as his age was, an earl of Kenilworth Castle founded on his great estate an establishment for the aged soldiers who had been with him in his wars. Feudalism once was so cruel that the baron had the right to kill two peasants in order to warm his feet in their blood; but this cannibalism grew so soft at last, even in the dark middle ages, that it became social degradation to

neglect the aged, to snatch out of life the strength of youth and manhood, and then leave advanced years to shift for themselves. The hereditary, territorial, feudal aristocracy thought itself bound by interest, or certainly by custom, to take care of age; and it fixed the mark of social infamy upon any leader who did not protect those who had followed him in their manhood. Feudalism has vanished out of Europe. It has never planted its hoofs on American soil; or, at least, if it hovered for a while over this continent, the impact of its split feet was so light that the tracery of the imprint is now almost removed. De Tocqueville ventures to affirm that the modern manufacturing aristocracy, which to a large extent has taken the place of the hereditary and territorial, differs from the old feudal aristocracy in that it feels no responsibility for the age of its dependants. Give us the best service of youth; crush out the right of children to a fair education in primary branches; give us the strength of the girl before her powers have been fully confirmed; give us the strength of mothers when their lives draw near to dangerous physical crises; give us the strength of manhood up to the last hour in which it can labor remuneratively; and then let the ruined girl, let the mother in her weakness, let old age in its dependence, shift for themselves. This is a terrific indictment against the modern system of wages, which I do not attack, but which many do. If I put before you in outline some of the reasons why that system is attacked, you will have patience with me, perhaps,

while I go on to claim that natural wages must, at the least, be twice the cost of the unprepared food of the laborer. I have age in mind; I have children's rights in mind; I have mothers' rights in mind. I have American standards of living and universal suffrage in mind. I arrive at the conclusion that justice is not dangerous to capital. As, in the old feudal aristocracy, justice was the glory of the order, so in the new aristocracy, justice is the glory of wealth and power. As, in the old aristocracy, infamy was inflicted on any leader who neglected the interests of age, when the strength of manhood had served him; so in the new aristocracy, more cruel than the old, social infamy ought to be imprinted on any legislation, and on any leader of politics or of manufactures, that neglects the interests of age, when manhood has given its best strength to that leader. [Applause.]

1. The cost of producing labor should determine the price of labor.

2. The cost of producing labor includes that of rearing a family.

3. The cost of rearing a family depends on the standard of comfort and decency, below which laborers will not go, or ought not to go.

Of course I recognize the distinction between these two standards. What ought to be, however, is what in America must be, if our institutions are to endure under universal suffrage. [Applause.]

4. In a republic under universal suffrage, the cost of living ought to include the expense of educating

children in the common schools up to fifteen years of age.

5. It ought to include the expense of keeping wives at home to take charge of little children.

6. It ought to include a fair support for old age, in case temperance, industry, and economy have marked the habits of the laborer.

The slovenly spendthrift, the drunkard, ought to suffer. I make no plea for dissipation. Shiftlessness deserves the workhouse in nine cases out of ten.

7. It will be found that wages less than twice the cost of the unprepared food of the laborer will not meet the demands of the American standard of living.

8. When wages are by any considerable degree lower than this standard requires, it is found that American populations of native birth do not increase fast enough to make up for the inevitable and incessant loss of labor from death and disability.

9. As a means of preventing such a multiplication of population as shall make the supply of labor greater than the demand, it is politically and industrially prudent to build up in popular estimation a high and advancing standard of living.

10. There should be no interference by law with the rate of wages for adult males; but public discussion and working-men's organizations are to be encouraged in the demand for natural wages.

11. Natural wages would prevent the formation of an ignorant class.

12. They would diminish the size of the unemployed, discontented, and explosive class.

13. They would destroy the power of demagogues.

14. They would increase the expenses of the working classes.

15. They would increase the gains of capitalists.

16. By removing the chief perils of universal suffrage, and giving justice free course in the relations of capital and labor, natural wages would make America an organizing and redemptive political example to the world; and nothing else will. [Applause.]

It will be noticed that in these propositions I am defining natural wages under the American standard of living, and not necessary wages under the Japanese or the Chinese scale of expenses. The definition given in these propositions accords, however, with the best authorities. In his superb work on "The Wages Question" (p. 112), you will find Professor Walker of Yale College maintaining that "the whole significance of the term 'necessary wages' is, that, in order to the supply of labor being maintained, wages must be paid which will not only enable the laboring class to subsist according to the standard of comfort and decency, or of discomfort and indecency, it may be, which they set up for themselves as that below which they will not go, but will also dispose them to propagate sufficiently to make up the inevitable, incessant loss from death or disability."

Your Labor Bureau affirms (*Report for* 1875, p. 445) that "it seems natural and just that a man's labor should be worth, and that his wages should be, as much as, with economy and prudence, will com-

fortably maintain himself and family, enable him to educate his children, and also to lay by enough for his decent support when his laboring powers have failed." (See also Professor BONAMY PRICE, *Practical Political Economy*, p. 225.)

Dr. Engel of Berlin has shown that in Prussia a person with an income of seven hundred and fifty dollars a year spends fifty per cent of this sum for food alone. (See WALKER, *The Wages Question*, p. 117.)

It was my fortune to maintain on this platform more than a year ago (*Boston Monday Lectures on Conscience*, Preludes I. and II.), that food unprepared costs nearly half as much as the other necessary expenses of a family living according to the American standard. I suppose I do not carry the assent of this audience when I take my stand on that proposition; and therefore I shall this morning occupy a few of your precious minutes in a dry analytical discussion in proof of that one assertion. You accuse this platform of using rhetoric; but if, when delivering a statistical lecture, I am exceedingly dry and cool, you say the discussion is low and ordinary. Now, I wish it to be lower and more ordinary than ever for a quarter of an hour.

Here is the official report of your Bureau of Labor for 1875, and it contains a list of the replies made by three hundred and ninety-seven families in this Commonwealth in 1874 to questions concerning their earnings and expenses. The replies were not received merely in answer to circulars; but your agents went into manufacturing towns in this State,

buttonholed working-men, went home with them after their hours of labor were over, gave the respondents opportunity to consult their note-books, and so obtained answers to questions on a great variety of points concerning the earnings and expenses of the class depending on wages. No commonwealth in history has gathered social statistics as carefully as has Massachusetts. I know that prices were higher in 1874 than they now are, and so possibly four hundred and twenty-two dollars is too large a figure for the unprepared food of a family to-day; but the relation between the price of food and the price of other articles, and that between the cost of living and the purchasing power of a day's labor, have not very greatly changed. It is the proportion to which I call attention, rather than to the figures on any one point. My topic is the lowest-paid labor; but I accept a disadvantage in the argument by occasionally quoting examples from the ranks of skilled labor. I put before you the expenses and earnings of families out of several different trades in this Commonwealth; and, if you doubt the record in any case, you can go to the Labor Bureau, take the number of the record here, and find the signature of the head of the family. Every record here is paralleled with written records in the bureau at 33 Pemberton Square in this city, and can be verified legally, if you please, by sufficient trouble being expended upon the case. I regard the recent reports of the bureau as utterly unpartisan. They are as cool as the multiplication-table, and as unanswerable.

No. 1. BRICKLAYER. GERMAN.

Earnings of father $810 00

CONDITION. — Family numbers five: parents, and three children from eight months to seven years of age; one goes to school. Occupy a tenement of four rooms, well located, and with good surroundings. The house is well furnished, and the parlor carpeted. Own a piano. Family dresses well.

FOOD. — *Breakfast:* bread, butter, meat, and coffee. *Dinner:* meat or fish, potatoes, bread, pie. *Supper:* bread, butter, gingerbread, tea.

Cost of living			$810 00
Rent	$204 00	Boots and shoes	30 50
Fuel	49 60	Clothing	42 00
Groceries	320 49	Dry goods	24 00
Meat	81 22	Papers	8 00
Fish	9 60	Societies	10 00
Milk	18 00	Sundries	12 59

Here groceries, meat, fish, and milk, as you notice, cost $428, or slightly more than half of $810, the total cost of living.

No. 3. CARPENTER. AMERICAN.

Earnings of father $686 00

CONDITION. — Family numbers four: parents, and two children from one to five years of age; one goes to school. Live in a tenement of five rooms, pleasantly located and surrounded. The apartments are well furnished and carpeted. Have a sewing-machine. Family dresses well, and attends church.

FOOD. — *Breakfast:* bread, butter, meat, eggs, cake, and coffee. *Dinner:* bread, butter, meat, potatoes, vegetables in season, pie, and tea. *Supper:* bread, butter, cake, sauce, and tea.

Cost of living			$686 00
Rent	$100 00	Groceries	208 19
Fuel	43 80	Meat	101 14

Fish	$8 00	Dry goods	$24 00
Milk	28 40	Papers	9 00
Boots and shoes	27 00	Religion	12 00
Clothing	84 00	Sundries	40 00

In this case the food of the family costs $345, or almost precisely half the whole cost of living.

No. 58. BOOTMAKER. AMERICAN.

Earnings of father $660 00

CONDITION. — Family numbers five : parents, and three children from two to nine years of age ; two go to school. Occupy a tenement of five rooms in a healthy locality, with good surroundings. House is well furnished, with the parlor carpeted. Have a sewing-machine. Family dresses well. Had sickness in the family last year, which was the cause of their running in debt.

FOOD. — *Breakfast:* bread and butter, meat or eggs, cake, coffee. *Dinner:* brown bread and butter, meat and potatoes, vegetables, pickles, pie, and tea. *Supper:* bread and butter, sauce, cake, tea.

Cost of living			$712 50
Rent	$120 00	Boots and shoes	10 00
Fuel	42 75	Clothing	47 00
Groceries	319 29	Dry goods	20 00
Meat	82 00	Sundries, including doctor's bill	55 50
Milk	15 46		

Notice that the food here costs $416, or more than half the total earnings of the father, and that the family in consequence has fallen into debt on account of a little sickness.

No. 77. SHOEMAKER. AMERICAN.

Earnings of father	$480 00
son, aged sixteen	230 00
son, aged fourteen	180 00
	$890 00

CONDITION. — Family numbers five: parents and three children. One goes to school all the time, and the other when business is dull. Father intends to let them have three months' schooling every year. Have a nice tenement of six rooms, about ten minutes' walk from the shop, in a good neighborhood and healthy locality. The house is well furnished, and parlor carpeted. Have a sewing and other labor-saving machines. Family dresses well. The father worked eight months last year, and earned from twelve to seventeen dollars per week. He hoped that the bureau would correct a false statement that had been published in several papers, that shoemakers averaged eighteen dollars per week, as such a correction was needed.

FOOD. — *Breakfast:* hot biscuit, bread, butter, fried ham or eggs or cheese, cake, and coffee. *Dinner:* bread, butter, beef, mutton, or fresh pork, potatoes, vegetables, pudding or pie, and tea. *Supper:* bread, butter, cheese, cake, meat (if any left from dinner), and tea. Baked beans on Sunday, and fish one day in the week.

Cost of living	$822 15		
Rent	$200 00	Clothing	68 00
Fuel	48 50	Dry goods	18 00
Groceries	364 90	Boots and shoes	17 00
Meat and fish	70 75	Sundries	20 00
Milk	15 00		

Here is a son, fourteen years old, earning $180. There is great temptation in that family to keep this son out of school. It is said that in Switzerland it costs ten pounds a year to keep out of school a child between twelve and fourteen years of age. The Swiss law requires that children should be in school, and poor families lose a considerable sum by obeying the law. In Massachusetts the law requires children to be in school up to a certain age; and this family, for instance, would lose $180 by keeping that

son under fifteen at school all the while. But if you take out the earnings of that son, this family will fall into debt. Which shall it do, send the son to school, or incur debt?

When we think how demagogues obtain votes out of an explosive and ignorant population to-day, we need look forward no further than 1880, and the possible Presidential issues, to prove that there is timeliness in every topic of this kind. President Woolsey has just begun in "The New York Independent" a discussion of socialism. There are signs all around the horizon that this topic must come up. Professor Hitchcock of New York has lately published on socialism a book fit to take the rank of a classic in the literature on this subject. The other night in Brooklyn Dr. Storrs's church was packed to the roof to hear discussions by Professor Hitchcock and Dr. Storrs on this theme. "The Atlantic Monthly" opens its pages to the topic. Congress appoints investigating committees concerning it. Having in mind the possible issues in the Presidential conflicts not only of 1880, but of the crowded twentieth century, you will pardon me if I try to dampen the powder which demagogues are sure to attempt to explode. [Applause.]

No. 80.	SHOEMAKER.	AMERICAN.
Earnings of father		$552 00

CONDITION. — Family numbers six: parents, and four children from two to sixteen years of age; the two elder go to school. Have a tenement of six rooms situated in a pleasant neighborhood. The rooms are well furnished and carpeted,

and the house kept clean and orderly. Family dresses respectably and well, and attends church. On account of the shoe-business being very dull for the past two years, the family has had a hard struggle to pay bills; and during the last year has run behind some seventy dollars, as there was work only eight months and a half. Had a little money in the savings bank, but was obliged to use it. The oldest child will begin work at the close of the present school term. This family is very economical. Had no sickness; bought a few clothes.

FOOD. — *Breakfast:* bread, butter, hash or potatoes warmed from the day before, doughnuts or cake, coffee. *Dinner:* meat, potatoes, pie or pudding, and tea. *Supper:* bread, butter, sauce or cheese, cake, and tea. Buckwheat or griddle cakes occasionally for breakfast. Baked beans on Saturday night and Sunday morning.

Cost of living			$622 00
Rent	$200 00	Milk	18 00
Fuel	36 50	Boots and shoes	16 00
Groceries	260 00	Clothing and dry goods	28 50
Meat	52 00	Sundries, taxes, &c.	11 00

Here is a debt; and how shall it be paid? The expense for food is, as usual, about half the cost of living.

No. 86. SHOEMAKER. AMERICAN.

Earnings of father	$546 00
son, aged fourteen	192 00
	$738 00

CONDITION. — The family numbers four: parents, and two children from ten to fourteen years of age; one goes to school. Live in a tenement of five rooms, in a good locality, with pleasant surroundings. The apartments are well furnished, carpeted, and kept very clean. Family dresses well. With the assistance of the son, can make enough to support the family. Work about nine months in the year. Impossible to save money.

FOOD. — *Breakfast:* bread, butter, meat or eggs, cake, coffee. *Dinner:* bread, butter, meat, potatoes, vegetables, pie, and tea. *Supper:* bread, butter, sauce or fruit, cheese, cake, tea.

Cost of living			$738 00
Rent	$120 00	Boots and shoes . .	12 00
Fuel	49 50	Clothing	91 00
Groceries	216 33	Dry goods	27 50
Meat	99 62	Books and papers . .	12 00
Fish	10 40	Societies	8 00
Milk	17 60	Sundries	74 05

Mr. Senior (*Political Economy*, pp. 36, 37) says that "when a Scotchman rises from the lowest to the middling classes of society, shoes become to him necessaries. He wears them to preserve, not his feet, but his station in life." All Americans wear shoes to preserve not their feet, but their social position.

No. 97.	SHOEMAKER.	FRENCH.
Earnings of father		$396 00

CONDITION. — Family numbers six: parents, and four children from one to nine years of age; two go to school. Live in a crowded tenement of three rooms, situated in a very unhealthy locality, in the midst of filth and pollution. On outside of building is a sink-conductor, badly out of repair; and the sink-water, almost black, runs down the clapboards, causing an offensive stench, which can be smelled at a great distance. The inside of house is on a par with the surroundings; it is poorly furnished, and seems the abode of poverty. Children pale-looking, sickly, and wretchedly kept. Father earns from twelve to fifteen dollars per week when he has work; but on account of sickness, and dulness of trade, finds it impossible to keep out of debt, and live; sees no hope of betterment of condition until children are old enough to work. Family dresses miserably.

FOOD. — *Breakfast:* bread, butter, sometimes salt fish or

pork, coffee. *Dinner:* bread, meat three days per week, salt fish or pork the remainder, potatoes, sometimes pie, water. *Supper:* bread, sometimes brown bread or oatmeal bread, butter, tea, occasionally gingerbread. Cannot afford luxuries.

Cost of living			$483 40
Rent	$96 00	Milk	12 00
Fuel	30 50	Clothing, shoes, and dry goods	28 50
Groceries	244 90		
Meat	23 00	Sickness	19 00
Fish	18 00	Sundries	11 50

It is not always safe to visit the fever-dens and death-traps in this little city of Boston in the summer. You had better go when the snow is on the ground. I had occasion to advise a most delicate lady the other day in respect to her visits among the degraded, and told her that ministers usually take a hearty meal before they go into desolate quarters. A Boston preacher informed me that at funerals in the slums he always took the precaution to stand between the door, and the bed on which the corpse lay. Circumstances of this kind are of course out of sight of the Board of Health.

No. 215. LABORER IN MILL. ENGLISH.

Earnings of father	$370 00
daughter, aged fifteen	249 00
	$619 00

CONDITION. — Family numbers five: parents, and three children from eight to fifteen years of age; two go to school. Occupy a tenement of four rooms, with good and pleasant surroundings. House is moderately well furnished. Family dresses well.

FOOD. — *Breakfast:* bread, butter, sometimes eggs, or what was left from dinner, coffee. *Dinner:* meat, potatoes, vegeta-

bles in season, bread, pie. *Supper:* bread, butter, sometimes cheese, cake, tea.

Cost of living			$619 00
Rent	$66 00	Boots and shoes	14 00
Fuel	39 50	Clothing	37 50
Groceries	308 50	Dry goods	17 00
Meat	86 90	Papers	8 00
Milk	11 26	Sundries	30 34

Even with the help of the daughter, nothing can be laid up here for sickness or age.

No. 346.	LABORER ON STREETS.	Irish.
Earnings of father		$436 00
wife		200 00
		$636 00

Condition. — Family numbers six: parents, and four children from two to thirteen years of age; two go to school. Have a tenement of three rooms in a poor locality. The house is meanly furnished, and dirty. The mother goes out cleaning and washing, and therefore has no time to keep her own house clean. Family dresses poorly.

Food. — *Breakfast:* bread, butter, and coffee. *Dinner:* meat or fish, potatoes, and bread. *Supper:* bread, butter, and tea.

Cost of living			$661 49
Rent	$126 00	Milk	17 20
Fuel	30 25	Boots and shoes	12 00
Groceries	376 25	Clothing	21 80
Meat	50 40	Dry goods	14 00
Fish	4 29	Sundries	9 30

No. 306.	LABORER, OUT-DOOR.	Irish.
Earnings of father		$351 00

Condition. — Family numbers five: parents, and three children from two to seven years of age. Have a tenement of three rooms in a large tenement-block, in which is an average

of two and a half persons to each room: it is situated in a very unhealthy neighborhood. The father works only about nine months in the year, and the mother goes out washing. A part of the fuel is picked from the streets by the children, who do not attend school. This family is a little over fifty dollars in debt. It took more than the mother could earn to buy the clothes; and, as there was some sickness, it ran them in debt a little for physician and medicine. Family dresses poorly.

Food. — As to how they live, they could not tell, as it varied according to their means. They have meat only two days per week.

Cost of living			$362 00
Rent	$66 00	Milk	13 60
Fuel	23 00	Fish	18 00
Groceries	201 80	Boots and shoes	14 25
Meat	24 25	Poll-tax	2 00

This case is too sad for comment; but it is a most just type of low-paid labor.

1. When wages go below a certain point, the increase of population is so diminished in many cases that you cannot fill up the gaps caused by death and disability; that is, you cannot reproduce the labor.

2. Natural wages are such as will reproduce labor.

3. The true definition of value is not the cost of production, but the cost of reproduction.

4. As in regard to any other piece of property, so with regard to that piece of property which we call labor, there must be enough paid for it to cover the cost not only of producing it, but of reproducing it.

What is Tremont Temple worth to-day? Any good salesman will tell you that its value is not measured by what it cost, but by what it would cost to reproduce it. Timber and other building-material

may have been cheaper when this temple was erected than they are now. Its value is the cost of its reproduction. Labor is property, and its value is to be determined by the same rule. This is a natural law not likely to be soon reversed.

Only the Golden Rule can bring the golden age. As long as an explosive class is in process of growth at the bottom of society, we shall have demagogues who will abuse universal suffrage. My conviction is, that American institutions cannot safely permit the formation of an hereditary poor class. Cripples and drones may sink into pinched places in the industrial world, and be kept in order there under free institutions; but if men who are economical and industrious, and not intemperate, nor of poor physical capabilities, find that a little sickness throws them into debt, and that they cannot lay up any thing for advanced years, we shall have a sour mass of working-men whom demagogues will make dangerous. There will be an unemployed and a discontented class; and politicians of the fifth rank will ride on the just exasperations of that portion of society, into power. If we had the rule adopted, not by legislation, but by general custom, that, when a man is willing to work, he shall be paid enough to make the purchasing power of a day's labor equal to twice the cost of his unprepared food, or to twice the cost of the unprepared food for a family which cannot labor remuneratively, how could this powder explode? How could the powder itself ever be produced? I hold that natural wages would increase the gains of

capitalists by increasing the expenditures of the laboring class. I have in mind a time when America, by justice to labor, will give renewed strength to capital, and make the industrial arrangements of the United States a model for the other free, experimenting populations of the world.

"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means." (MILTON, *Areopagitica.*) [Applause.]

IX.

IS JUSTICE A PERIL TO CAPITALISTS?

THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETEENTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, DEC. 30.

"A fair day's-wages for a fair day's-work!" it is as just a demand as governed men ever made of Governing. It is the everlasting right of man. Indisputable as Gospels, as arithmetical multiplication-tables: it must and will have itself fulfilled; — and yet, in these times of ours, with what enormous difficulty, next-door to impossibility! — CARLYLE.

Sooner or later I too may passively take the print
Of the golden age — why not? I have neither hope nor trust;
May make my heart as a millstone, set my face as a flint,
Cheat and be cheated and die: who knows? We are ashes and dust.
TENNYSON: *Maud.*

IX.

IS JUSTICE A PERIL TO CAPITALISTS?

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

THE American Union has reduced its national debt eightfold more rapidly than Great Britain did hers. Resumption of specie payments by the United States begins with the new year [applause]; and what, according to many popular prophets, ought not to be, and could not be, already is. You take up your newspaper, and read that gold stands steady at par. That is news you have not seen for seventeen years. It is great news. [Applause.] America kneels on the frosty sods above the tombs of the martyrs in the civil war; and, only thirteen years after the close of a conflict five years in duration, she lifts up her hands to heaven, and receives as a New Year's present a clean financial record. This gift comes from God, and not from seventh-rate politicians. [Applause.]

Surely a republic in which universal suffrage is sometimes said to be a failure has a right to point with abundant gratitude to Providence, and some

honest pride, to a financial record unexampled in ancient or modern times. In 1860 the public debt of the United States was $64,000,000. In 1866 it was $2,773,000,000. In 1877 it was $2,060,000,000. The public debt of Great Britain and Ireland is $3,625,000,000. Before our civil war we knew little or nothing of internal taxation for federal purposes. During that conflict, such taxation was raised above every present and every past example. The interest on our debt was the highest in the world. After the close of the Napoleonic wars, the propertied classes in Great Britain refused to bear an income-tax for a single year. Americans have long borne voluntarily, under universal suffrage, the burdens of war taxation. In 1877 we exported so much more merchandise than we imported, that the balance of trade in our favor was $152,000,000.

"In each twelve months," says Mr. Gladstone, "America has done what we did in eight years; her self-command, self-denial, and wise forethought for the future, have been, to say the least, eightfold ours. An enfranchised nation tolerated burdens which in Great Britain a selected class, possessed of the representation, did not dare to face. The most unmitigated democracy known to the annals of the world resolutely reduced at its own cost prospective liabilities of the State, which the aristocratic and plutocratic and monarchical government of the United Kingdom has been contented ignobly to hand over to posterity." ("Kin beyond Sea," *North American Review*, September, 1878, pp. 188, 189.)

Most instructive have been the popular movements by which this resplendent financial result has been achieved, and almost equally instructive are those by which it has been opposed. How has financial wickedness in politics been prevented? How was good financial sense under universal suffrage secured? The whole world has an interest in the answer to these questions.

Eye-witnesses of our history for the last five years are frequently whispering that the newspapers and ministers, and not politicians and financiers, saved the nation from repudiation. This contemporary opinion will be of interest to the future historian. "The New York Nation," which has a peculiar fondness for the ministry, affirms that the ministers and the newspapers together have saved the nation from repudiating its debts and swindling its creditors. It asserts roundly that if the ministers had not attacked the financial heresies of the last two years as sin, or a disguised attempt to cheat, and if the leading newspapers had not taught honesty unflinchingly, politicians would have been unable to resist the current of popular error on great questions of finance. Without the combined influence of the pulpit and press on public opinion, probably some politicians would have led off in a great financial experiment that would have ended in wreck and repudiation.

The act providing for the resumption of specie payments became a law Jan. 14, 1875.

What winds burst forth out of Ohio and Indiana, and the Mississippi Valley generally, the moment it

was determined to resume specie payments on the first day of 1879! Strange storms, never known before in American politics, were let loose. It ought not to be, and yet it will be, soon forgotten, how Congress was importuned to repeal the resumption act, and how the House of Representatives was widely supposed to have power to make ninety cents equal to an hundred.

If a newly organized national party had achieved success, there would have been fastened upon us the searching curse of fiat money and a political currency.

A silver bill, which the President vetoed as inconsistent with the national promise to pay its debts in coin, passed the House Nov. 5, 1877, by a vote of one hundred and sixty-four to thirty-four.

A bill to repeal the resumption act, or so much of it as provided for the redemption in coin of the United States legal-tender notes, passed the House Nov. 23, 1877, by a vote of one hundred and thirty-three to one hundred and twenty.

Mr. Gladstone says the facts to our credit should be told out; and so should these other facts to our shame.

The Senate, however, operated as the saucer does upon the teacup. You remember that Washington said to Lafayette once at a dinner-table: "We need two bodies in our legislative branch. We want this hot teacup to represent the popular feeling. The House of Representatives should be close to the people's firesides. But we need the Senate as the

saucer to cool the teacup somewhat." Neither the saucer nor the teacup would do well alone. We need the hotness, and we need the assuaged hotness also, and so must have both parts of this furniture of the table. This wisdom of Washington has again and again been justified by the discussions of the last two years. The Senate, at least twice, has crushed repudiation schemes of the lower House.

Without indorsing the assertion that the newspapers and ministers together have saved us, I may be allowed to affirm that it appears to me capable of superabundant proof that the ministers and the newspapers, and the Senate and an honest Executive, have saved us.

I am not discussing this matter from a point of view of partisan politics, but from that of American institutions, out of which we do see that good sense has some chance to come, even under universal suffrage. We were told lately by a Southern senator that the time may not be far distant when the large representation of New England in the Senate will be attacked, on the ground of its injustice to other portions of the Union. Texas, which is larger than France, has two senators only. California, although larger than Italy, has only two. But Rhode Island, hardly large enough for a county, has as much power in the Senate as Texas or California. The group of six small New England States weighs as much in the Senate as the vast Commonwealths of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa put together. Our government is one of

checks and balances. It is not a pure democracy. New England has always defended the checks and balances; and, in the last two years, Providence has emphasized them, and justified their existence and activity! [Applause.] If we had not had the two Houses, or if the basis of representation in the upper House had been what it is in the lower, who knows but that financial heresy would have swept the good sense of the nation from its moorings?

The colleges in the Mississippi Valley were against the silver bill. In the centre of Iowa, I was told by President Magoun, one of the superb leaders of sound policies in the West, that, when the Bland silver bill was before the House, twelve or fifteen Western colleges sent a petition to Washington against it, and that the paper was signed by nearly every professor in those institutions. We know what excellent work the hard-money league of Chicago has been doing. I am not assailing the West for her position as to the silver bill. There were two parties in the Mississippi Valley; and, if the schools and ministers there were sometimes misled, the best of them were not. The best parts of the newspaper press in the West were not misled, although the best in newspapers is a small percentage there and here. The West reads Western daily newspapers, and not Eastern. It is easy to overestimate the extent of the influence of our seaboard daily newspapers. Your daily is not a daily three hundred miles from the place where it is published, but a paper of the second day. We are not to at-

tribute all the turns of political sentiment in the United States to the peculiar inclinations the pens of the New York editors may have. A few New York monthlies, and one or two weeklies, reach the whole nation; but the average citizen of Chicago rarely sees the New York dailies. Our nation is not like England, where one newspaper can easily reach every coast of an island so small that when an American walks in his sleep there he is in danger of stepping off the land. Englishmen are proud of the fact that the very best discussions of the London dailies go to the remotest quarters of England and Scotland, and they well may value this one excellent effect of the smallness of the British Islands. It is not the fact that the best American daily newspapers go to all quarters of our immense territory. Therefore we must give praise to several vigorous newspapers which in the West stood right on the financial question; and to the newspapers in the South, and the half-dozen or dozen statesmen there, who stood right on that subject. It is not true that the seaboard led the whole nation.

The West is very haughty on financial topics, if asked to accept without change the position of the seaboard from which she has borrowed so much. There is nothing subtler, I suppose, in the reasons which induced a part of the West to oppose a financial policy almost unanimously favored by the seaboard, than the fact that so much has been borrowed by the West from the East that it is often supposed capitalists here have interested motives in all discussions

of financial questions. Therefore let us give the more praise to the Western press, so far as it was right, and to the Western pulpit, and to any Western statesmen who were not misled by the popular clamor.

There has been more than one occasion in the history of the United States when the ministry has given hope to the national executive. Commissioner Eaton told me in the educational bureau at Washington, that one of the most impressive things President Lincoln ever said to him was, that the sheet-anchor of the cause of the Union in the darkest days of the war clung to the pulpits of the Northern and Western States. [Applause.] If the ministry had not taken a right position on financial issues in the last two years, we should have had trouble in the next Presidential campaign with these same issues. If the recent discussion has not saved the nation from the ultimate recurrence of such heresies in our politics, it has saved the next Presidential campaign from being carried by any apologist for socialistic opinions in finance. [Applause.]

While, therefore, we take some credit to ourselves for diminishing rapidly our national debt, and executing a buffeted resumption act; while we accept, with proper humility, the praise Mr. Gladstone has given us in his contrast of the American democracy with the British aristocracy; while we look on the unexampled financial vigor of our nation at a date so near the time when some of us despaired of her life; while we anticipate the not-distant day when

she will be the wealthiest of nations; while we remember how France has paid her crushing indebtedness swiftly, and is a republic, let us not entirely give up hope as to popular suffrage; and even here in Boston, where, as Mr. Phillips says, we do not believe in republican institutions, let us not quite despair, when a republic, with all its faults, honestly pays its debts, here and in Paris. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

It is a suggestive circumstance, that the first discourse ever uttered in the world had a lie for its text, and converted half its hearers. The dismal science of political economy, when it discusses the question whether justice is a peril to capitalists, often takes for its text the lie that the relations between capital and labor are a see-saw; or that, as the laborer goes up, the capitalist will go down, and that, as the laborer goes down, the capitalist must go up. This is Ricardo's doctrine. This is to-day the theory of several universities, but not of the best ones; and, thank God, it is a doctrine oftener and oftener assailed of late in the name of political economy itself, as represented by Professors Cairnes and Jevons and Bonamy Price, and our own Professors Bowen and Walker. Gov. Winthrop of Massachusetts tells a story which illustrates the average opinion of the political economists of the older school concerning the relations of labor to capital. "I may, upon this occasion," he writes, "repeat a passage between one of Rowley, and his servant. The master, being forced

to sell a pair of oxen to pay his servant his wages, told the servant he could keep him no longer, not knowing how to pay him the next year. The servant answered him that he would serve him for more of his cattle. 'But how shall I do,' saith the master, 'when all my cattle are gone?' The servant replied, 'You shall then serve me, and so you may have your cattle again.'" (*History of New England*, p. 219.)

This is the see-saw theory of wages and profits:—

1. The amount of capital which in any country can be devoted at a given time to the payment of wages is a dividend.

2. The number of laborers who in that country, at the given time, ask for wages, is a divisor.

3. The rate of wages which can be paid in that country, at the given time, is the quotient obtained by dividing the amount of capital by the number of laborers.

4. There is no fighting against the rules of arithmetic; and therefore there is no way to increase this quotient without enlarging the dividend, or diminishing the divisor.

5. The foregoing dividend, which is called the wages-fund, is a part of the aggregate capital of a country; and the ratio between that capital and the amount devoted to the payment of wages may vary with the conditions of industry and the habits of the people; but at any given time the dividend is a definite part of the aggregate capital, and cannot be increased by law, or public opinion, or compassion on

the part of employers, or the efforts of the working classes.

6. The wages-fund is distributed by competition.

7. More than the amount of the wages-fund, the wages-receiving class cannot possibly divide among them.

8. That amount, and no less, they cannot but obtain.

9. The working-man who wants higher wages is to be told, that, as the wages-fund is fixed in amount, if he receives more, some other laborer must for that reason receive less, or be kept out of employment altogether.

10. Competition is so perfect that the laborer always realizes the highest wages the employer can afford to pay, or else, as consumer, is rewarded by the lower price of commodities.

11. Wages and profits are drawn from the same fund.

12. Profits depend on wages.

13. Profits and wages increase and diminish, therefore, at each other's expense, and what is gained on the one side is lost on the other.

14. The industrial world is, therefore, a ghastly battle-field, on which capital and labor are of necessity ever at war, and where victory and its spoils must go to the stronger.

Statements of the theory here summarized may be found scattered in detached form through many treatises of the older school in political economy. (See the doctrine of the wage-fund defended by Pro-

fessor FAWCETT, *Economic Position of the British Laborer*, p. 120; by JOHN STUART MILL, *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1869; and Professor PERRY of Williams College, *Political Economy*, pp. 122, 123.)

In these accursed principles you have the veins and arteries through which circulates most of the black blood of the feud between capital and labor, and of socialistic and communistic discontent in modern times. Carlyle calls political economy the dismal science, because, up to a late date, it has taught propositions such as these. But it is the glory of the best recent discussions in political economy, to have ripped open these poisoned veins, and to have let out much of this black blood. It may be that on this theme I shall have great difficulty in obtaining a hearing with older men who have been taught in a school of political economy now obsolete or obsolescent, while we younger men have been brought up in a new school. If I seem to speak disrespectfully of Ricardo and of the theory of the wages-fund, remember that Bonamy Price and Cairnes and Walker do the same. Professor Bowen, representing Harvard University, explicitly rejects that theory. (See *North American Review*, CXX., pp. 93, 94, note.) I take up here Professor Walker's work on wages, as perhaps the best treatise America has given us on the subject, and certainly a book representing Yale College; and you will find the whole volume employed in combating those very assumptions which may prejudice many here against my proposition that the see-saw theory as to wages and profits is as unsound in social science

as it is cruel in social practice. For instance, Professor Walker says: —

"I regret that this treatise should be so strongly controversial in form; but the fact is, certain doctrines which I deem to be wholly unfounded have become so widely spread, that one can make no progress, by so much as a step, towards a philosophy of wages, without encountering them. These doctrines are, —

"That there is a wage-fund irrespective of the numbers and industrial quality of the laboring population, constituting the sole source from which wages can at any time be drawn.

"That competition is so far perfect that the laborer, as a producer, always realizes the highest wages which the employer can afford to pay, or else, as consumer, is recompensed in the lower price of commodities for any injury he may chance to suffer as producer.

"That, in the organization of modern industrial society, the laborer and the capitalist are together sufficient unto production, the actual employer of labor being regarded as the capitalist, or else as the mere stipendiary agent and creature of the capitalist, receiving a remuneration which can properly be treated like the wages of ordinary labor.

"These doctrines I have found it necessary to controvert; and in so doing have not cared to mince matters or pick phrases."

These are, in substance, the doctrines of Ricardo. They were very nearly the doctrines of John Stuart

Mill. Bonamy Price accuses Mill himself of introducing utter confusion into the topic of profits. (*Practical Political Economy*, London, 1878, p. 135.) Mill, however, is said to have abandoned the see-saw theory in his latest and yet unpublished essays.

A man is a man, even if his father was rich. I have defended the interests of working-men; and, if now I defend those of capitalists and manufacturers, you will remember that many of the latter were working-men once, and that in America any man with the proper spirit of self-help may become a capitalist.

Do fair wages drive employers into bankruptcy? Is justice a peril to capitalists? Is it impossible to pay natural wages, and make reasonable profits?

A startlingly large proportion of the employing class does not escape financial distress. Here is a very suggestive pamphlet on "Common-sense Views in Political Economy," by J. H. Walker, Esq., of Worcester, Mass., who testified at their request before the Hewitt Congressional Committee. Mr. Walker discusses the fate of business-men (p. 10). He tells us that in 1840 there were four firms in Worcester engaged in the chief industry of the State, — the manufacture of boots and shoes. They comprised seven individuals, and only one of these manufacturers died in comfortable circumstances in advanced age. Two of them were at work for Mr. Walker as journeymen when prostrated by their final sickness. In 1850 there were twenty-one firms manufacturing boots and shoes in Worcester, com-

prising twenty-four members. All but four of these failed in business, and only two have retired with any capital. In 1860 there were twenty-three firms engaged in the same business in Worcester, comprising thirty individuals. Of these twenty-three firms, twelve have failed; and, of the individuals who comprised the firms, only eight are now manufacturing, and only two have gone out of the business with any capital.

When I stand here, and assert that the labor of an able-bodied slave is computed to be worth twice his maintenance, and that the service of the meanest laborer cannot be worth less than that of an able-bodied slave, you remember the number of business failures, and the frequent financial straits of employers, and you think I am teaching heresy; that I am trenching upon the great rights of capital; and that I am dropping out of the region of science in political economy. But these propositions were those of Adam Smith (see *Wealth of Nations*, Book I. chap. viii.); these propositions are those of John Stuart Mill himself. Why, here is Mill, cool as an iceberg on this topic, but straightforward as a sunbeam: "Where the wife of a laboring-man does not by general custom contribute to his earnings, the man's wages must be at least sufficient to support himself, a wife, and a number of children adequate to keep up the population, *since, if it were less, the population would not be kept up.*" (*Political Economy*, Book XI. chap. xiv.)

If this be indeed a natural law, who knows but these business failures come into collision with nature

itself? Who knows but that Ricardo, after all, was right, and that the natural relations of labor to capital are those of war? Occasionally manufacturers retain their operatives in employment at a loss. I know there are princes in our manufacturing establishments, who sometimes suffer financially in order to be generous to their operatives in hard times. But nobody expects these exceptions to become the general rule. I am speaking not of the princes, but of the average condition of trade under the stern law of supply and demand: and I wish to ascertain, whether, under that law, it is indeed true that the condition of capital and labor must be that of war.

In England, at the town of Merthyr, a great mining-district, a strike occurred in which a desperate attempt was made to keep wages up to the standard of working-men. The laborers refused to believe that their employers could not pay them what they demanded. The employers said, "We will prove to you that we are sincere. We will put out our furnaces, and inflict on ourselves a great loss, if you continue this strike. This loss will be less than that of paying the wages you ask." The workmen would not be convinced. They demanded the "minimum wage," as it was called; did not obtain opportunity to look into the books of their employers; could not credit the assertion that the employers were unable to pay more without dropping into bankruptcy; kept up the strike; and the masters put their furnaces out of blast, extinguished their fires, made work impossible for a long period, and so brought calamity

on the trade of a whole district. This was their proof that the wages asked could not be paid. The industrial world abounds with similar evidence that employers are often sincere when they say they cannot pay higher wages, and live. Of course, if they do not live, the working-men cannot be employed.

What if we could give a majority of working-men employment at what I call fair wages? Can we bring all working-men into employment? Must such as cannot find employment at fair wages go to the workhouse? Is it not better to accept half a loaf as wages than nothing? If there is only a fixed amount of bread to be divided, and mouths are too many, must not some live on half-rations? Must not some die? Would it not be better if some were never born? John Stuart Mill says society might possibly take care of all the laborers now on the planet, but that we cannot be called upon to take care of as many more human beings as they who are already here choose to bring into existence. Unless there be some check on population, there will be no safety for society, even if capital should undertake to provide work for all. Philanthropy itself cannot promise to do that; and therefore, Mill thinks, it looks as if Ricardo were right, and as if we must adhere to his dismal doctrines.

I see no way out of the wilderness into which our discussion of labor and socialism has led us, but through adherence to our fundamental maxim, — definitions first, and then, following definitions, clear ideas in logical order as stepping-stones across every

marsh. On my study table there is a collection of treasure or rubbish — I hardly know which to call it — on political economy: ten or twelve feet of volumes representing the best discussions in social science for the last two hundred years. Gather and examine in chronological order any such collection of books, and you will find that down to about 1840 or 1850, they are full of the see-saw theory of wages and profits, and teach a godless science; a series of propositions utterly without piety, and having in mind no Christian principles. About 1840 and 1850, after the reform-laws in Great Britain had come into force, you find this series of books changing position; and God be praised that to-day political economy does not deserve to be called the dismal science!

Here is a series of propositions which I have not extracted from any book, but upon which I am willing to put my feet in the tangle of this morass, out of which, perhaps, some of you have thought that we should never escape.

Natural wages have been defined here, and I must now attempt a definition of natural profits. Face to face with the see-saw theory in political economy, our question is whether natural wages and natural profits are consistent with each other.

1. Natural profits consist of three parts, — interest on capital, insurance against risk, and remuneration for superintendence.

This is a difficult and yet a standard definition, and in its support both the authorities of the older and those of the newer school of political economists are agreed. (See FAWCETT'S *Manual*, p. 160.)

Whoever puts money into business of course expects to get back as much as he would receive in interest if he were to lend his funds. In England, where the rate of interest is low, this portion of profit may reasonably enough be low; but in Australia, where the rate of interest is ten per cent, the profit ought to be higher, because money is worth more at interest. All these matters are parts of arithmetic. I am not here to appeal to you in the name of philanthropy against the multiplication-table. Fair profits should include interest on capital; but this portion of profits should not amount, as it often does, to twenty, thirty, and fifty per cent, in a country where capital can be borrowed for ten or six or perhaps four per cent interest.

Fair profits also include insurance against risk, and this will be high or low according to circumstances in different cases. Remuneration for risk, capitalists estimate high enough if they have their own way. An author, publishing a book, is told he must not have any large percentage of the profit, because he does not take any risk. The publisher takes all the risk; and so even a Longfellow, I suppose, obtains only about ten per cent on his copyright, although one would think there is no risk in many cases of publication. The rule is that the publisher taking the risk must be compensated. How shall we determine how much this portion of profit should be? This is, or ought to be, a matter of arithmetic, too. You go to the insurance companies, and ask for how much they will insure certain trades or certain kinds

of property, and you will find that there can be a very exact calculation made here.

2. As the legal rate of interest shows what the first part of natural profits should be, so the average rate of insurance shows what the second part of natural profits should be.

You are not here to take the capitalist's word that his risks ought to have such and such remuneration. You will do better to go to the insurance companies; you will do best to study competitions of capitalists with each other, and so ascertain what the second part of profits naturally should be. There should, of course, be remuneration for superintendence; and some political economists say that the way to find out how much should be allowed for this third element in natural profits, is to take the gross excess of earnings over expenditures, and subtract the first two parts of natural profits. What is left ought to go as pay for superintendence. That is a partisan plea. There is a way of ascertaining what is the just remuneration for superintendence. What can you hire superintendence for? You are yourself, let us suppose, not able to manage your own business, and must have an agent. What must you pay him? He puzzles his head with your great enterprises. You are sick, you are withdrawn entirely, you are a sleeping partner in the concern, and somebody takes your place. What do you pay him?

3. What would be paid as wages of superintendence, is the just measure of the amount of the third element in natural profits.

Taking the legal rate of interest for the first part of natural profits, and asking the insurance companies, and learning of the competitions between capitalists, what the second part should be, and counting in for the third part what you would pay to an agent who should occupy your place, I say that adding these three things together you have what ought to be the profits of industry on the average. Some kinds of business have a high risk; and, if that be surmounted, the profit will be very large, because the insurance against risk must be very large. Some have to pay large interest on capital, if they borrow from banks, and so the bank-rates will lift the size of natural profits. I will make allowance for all these circumstances; concede to the capitalist all just claims; and yet must affirm that it is fair to define natural profits as consisting of these three things, and of these only, — interest on capital, insurance against risk, and remuneration for superintendence. Every thing in my argument depends on that definition.

4. The rate of profit in any business depends on the excess of earnings over expenses.

This is a truism; but, as Bonamy Price remarks, "Truisms have great place in political economy," and he might have said, in every other science. They are the self-evident propositions which are the supporting framework of all reasoning.

As I could afford on no occasion, in the presence of scholars here, to put before you careless statements, so now, in the presence of men of affairs whom this subject has attracted to this hall, I dare

not talk sentimentally. I must face the stern facts of trade; I must recognize the power of the law of supply and demand; but do I not carry your assent to my next proposition?

5. The excess of earnings over expenses depends on the rate of interest charged by banks for borrowed capital, the rate of insurance against risk, the cost of machinery, the state of the market, the rate of wages, and a multitude of other circumstances, chief among which is the efficiency of labor.

6. The rate of profit, therefore, depends on a variety of circumstances, of which the rate of wages is only one.

7. Ricardo's doctrine that the rate of profit depends on wages only, is therefore an inaccurate, because an inexhaustive, statement of the case.

8. *When the efficiency of labor is increased by the improvement of machinery, or any other cause, profits may be increased, although wages may remain the same.*

9. *It may happen from the same causes that both the rate of wages and the rate of profit may be increased at the same time.*

There is no see-saw in the relations between labor and capital, if these propositions are true; and now let us test them. Here is a factory. It is supplied with machinery for making cotton cloth. Every ten men in the factory can make a hundred yards of cotton cloth a day. Now, some Edison invents new machinery, and by the use of this ten men can make a thousand yards of cloth a day. Let us suppose that the inventor of the machinery has been so skil-

ful as to make it cheaply. Let the machinery of the new sort cost no more than that of the old sort. If a hundred hours of labor with imperfect machinery produce a hundred yards of cloth, and a hundred hours of labor, with new and no more costly machinery, will produce a thousand yards, and you pay your laborers the same wages for running the new machinery as for running the old, is it not perfectly evident, that, by the use of the new machinery and the increased efficiency of the labor, you have doubled, trebled, or it may be increased tenfold, your profits, while yet wages remain the same? But Ricardo says that as wages go up, profits go down, and as profits go up, wages go down. That is not the case, as this example shows. By the use of the improved machinery here, the factory produces ten times what it did before, with the same labor. The machinery costs no more, the wages of the ten operatives are no higher, but the efficiency of their labor is increased tenfold, and profits are increased many times in consequence. The price of cotton cloth may fall if you produce too much of it, but as it falls in price it will find more buyers. It is very evident that profits may be increased although wages remain the same.

It is, moreover, perfectly conceivable, that the new machinery might be so much better than the old, that the wages might be lifted somewhat, and yet profits be increased at the same time. You paid these laborers a dollar and a half a day with the old machinery; suppose you pay them two dollars a day with the

new: your profits might yet be increased, for that rise of wages would not use up the margin created by the improved efficiency of labor. Where is the business-man who does not see that Ricardo's position fails in this case? But this one example tests the problem. This case is typical of every steady employment.

10. It is a most mischievous falsehood to teach that wages and profits are a see-saw, that they are drawn from the same fund, and that they necessarily increase or diminish at the expense of each other.

11. It is this falsehood which misleads both capitalists and laborers into the notion that under fixed natural law capital and labor must be at war, and that the industrial world is a battlefield.

12. Large profits do not come from low wages so much as from large establishments well managed.

Improved machinery is only one of many means of increasing the efficiency of labor. De Tocqueville tells us, and so do the political economists, that, other things being equal, the profits of an establishment are in proportion to its size. I add to my factory floors square rod after square rod, until I have acres filled with whizzing looms. In various ways I can now cheapen the cost of superintendence. I may have a railway opened to the market, instead of sending my goods by the broad-wheeled wagon. All this time, while my profits are increasing, wages may remain the same. How is it we have lived under this lie so long, and have believed that all the capitalist gets, the laborer must lose, and that all the laborer

gets, the capitalist must lose? It is that theory which makes the bitter blood between capital and labor oftener than you think; and it is a lie, every syllable of it! [Applause.]

Here is a merchant on India Wharf in Boston; and he sends his goods to India, and brings back cargoes from there. He may have a fair voyage, or he may have a storm, just as the agriculturist may have a wet season or a dry. Now, what have the wet season or the dry, what have the storms or the calms, to do with the rate of wages? Undoubtedly wages are one element in the expenses of every business, but they are not the only element. They are only one finger on the palm. It may be they are the forefinger; but these other expenses — accident, rate of interest for the capital you must borrow, access to the market, efficiency of labor, insurance against risk, a score of circumstances — are the other fingers on the palm. And, after all, your own personal superintendence, your wise combination of details, is the thumb on that palm. Wages, even if they are the forefinger, are evidently not as important a part of the problem as these other circumstances taken together. It is utterly false to go upon the supposition that the hand of industry is only a hook, and that wages are its only finger. Let us open our minds to the whole problem. Let us take into view, as laboring-men find it difficult to do at times, all the expenses of the employer; and let the employer take into view all his sources of profit; and it will be seen that there has rarely been taught authoritatively a more mischiev-

ous falsehood in political economy than the assertion that wages and capital are of necessity an eternal see-saw, putting the laborer and the employer into a state of constant war.

13. The prosperity of laborers increases their purchasing power, and so adds to the profit of capital.

Where is the business-man who wants all the working-men of the United States reduced to the condition of the Japanese and Chinese laborers? Do you think it would add to your prosperity to grind down the working class to the condition of squalor and barbarism? Everybody knows that the way to get money is to increase the purchasing power of the people. You want to sell your goods, therefore you want customers. You must therefore see that there is high commercial sagacity in keeping up the standard of living of the average working-man. Let him be able to buy, and you will make profit in selling. Let him not be able to buy, and very soon you must take care of him in the workhouse, or shut down your factories in part, and so reduce profits.

14. In the steady trades, it is historically true that wages and profits in the last half-century have usually risen together.

Bread is cheaper now in England than it was fifty years ago; sugar and tea are cheaper; average prices for clothing are lower; but in most of the steady trades the wages of the laborers have risen in the last fifty years in Great Britain, and not merely their nominal wages, but their real wages, or the purchasing power of their days of labor. At the same

time who does not see the prosperity of the manufacturing class in Great Britain, if you take it on the average? Great Britain is wealthy because she is a factory, and prosperous as such. Everybody will grant me the proposition. that, taken on the average, the manufacturing business of Great Britain is prosperous, and that its profits have risen although the wages of operatives have risen.

"The vast increase of the wealth of rich men in England during the last sixty years," says Professor Bonamy Price, "is a fact perceived by every eye. How has it fared with the laboring classes? Do they receive, would they for an instant accept, the same wages now as they did then? The laborers have reached a far higher standard of existence. A much more elevated minimum of wages has been secured. This is the result of efficient labor, heartily applied with the aid of machinery, producing much work, cheapening commodities, enlarging the powers of consumers to buy, and diffusing enlarged property in every class. These results do not breathe a syllable about antagonism between masters and workmen." (*Practical Political Economy*, pp. 237, 238.)

Before I close, let me draw a distinction which may clear up the remaining vapor of this theme.

15. In the fluctuating employments the just relations of capital and labor are difficult to ascertain, and have to be found out by the stern application of the law of supply and demand; but the principles applying to other trades govern the fluctuating also.

The trouble, I suppose, between capitalists and laborers, often is that the difficulties which arise in the fluctuating trades are supposed to belong to the very root of the relations of labor and capital. It is true that in the fluctuating trades there is a great chance for rascals to make money when they ought not; there is a great chance to grind the faces of the shop-girl and the poor clerk and the average operative. My discussion here in previous lectures has been concerning the fluctuating trades rather than the steady trades. When we prove, as we have done, that, in the steady trades, wages and profits are not a see-saw, we ought to believe that in the fluctuating trades they are not a see-saw, *if we ascertain what justice is.* Here is my hand; I show you three fingers which shut toward the palm. These are the steady trades, and they are the majority of the trades; but the fluctuating trades belong to the same palm, and the other finger will be found to shut as the three fingers do. If I prove that in steady trades the interests of capital and labor are identical, I undertake to affirm, by the argument of analogy, that, if we could find out what true justice would be to the capitalist and to the laborer in the fluctuating employments, we should find the same principles governing those portions of our industries.

16. It is, therefore, evident both from history and from correct economical principles, that justice is no peril to capitalists, nor fair wages a diminution of fair profits. [Applause.]

X.

ARE TRADES-UNIONS A NURSERY OF SOCIALISM?

THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTIETH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE, JAN. 6.

The nineteenth is the century of the workingmen. — GLADSTONE.

L'aristocratie manufacturière de nos jours, après avoir appauvri et abruti les hommes dont elle se sert, les livre en temps de crise à la charité publique, pour les nourrir. — DE TOCQUEVILLE.

X.

ARE TRADES-UNIONS A NURSERY OF SOCIALISM?

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

CÆSAR could not drive his chariot around the Roman Empire in less than an hundred days. We can now send a letter around the world in ninety-six.

There was a time when a traveller could start at Alexandria, in Egypt, and following the basaltic pavements of the Roman highways, broken only by brief trips on the sea, reach Carthage and the Straits of Gibraltar, roll across the plains and hills of Spain and France, sail over the surly English Channel, go northward to the barbaric borders of Scotland, then return through Leyden and Cologne to Milan, and thence drive his unmolested chariot under the shadows of the Alps and Balkans to Constantinople, and through turbulent Asia Minor to Antioch, and thence over the Lebanon range and along the Syrian plain and the green valley of the Nile to Alexandria again, a distance of more than seven thousand miles. The circuit of these outmost roads of the Roman

world could not be made in less than one hundred days; but in less than that time the steamship and the locomotive, however unpoetic they may seem in contrast with the wheels on which Cæsar rode, can now be driven around the globe.

Throughout the empire, the majesty of Rome, as Pliny proudly declares, was the shield of the wayfarer in every place. Epictetus and the Alexandrian Philo dwell with rapture on the security of the traveller and the facility of intercourse in the Roman world. "Cæsar," writes the Stoic philosopher, "has procured us a profound peace: there are neither wars, nor battles, nor great robberies, nor piracies; but we may travel at all hours, and sail from east to west." Modern scholars are never weary of extolling the magnificence of the Roman Empire, and the unity it gave to the law and trade and political principles of the nations under its sway. Greek scholars kept school in Spain. The women of a Roman colony in Switzerland employed a goldsmith from Asia Minor. In the cities of Gaul were Greek painters and sculptors. Gauls and Germans served as a body-guard of a Jewish king at Jerusalem. (FRIEDLÄNDER, *Sittengeschichte Roms.*) In the reign of Claudius an embassy came to Rome from a prince of the island of Ceylon.

Such was the ancient unity of mankind; but what is the modern? From Rome to the cataracts of the Nile there stretched a distance so vast that the ancient imagination used to faint over it. This distance is only equal to that from St. Louis to San Francisco

Rome and Athens are not as far apart as New York and Chicago. Rome and London are not as far from each other as Boston and St. Louis. Plymouth Rock and Pike's Peak are farther apart than the Coliseum and the Pyramids. The surf of the Bay of Fundy and the waterfalls of the Yosemite are more distant from each other than London and Thebes, or than the Straits of Gibraltar and the frosty Caucasus.

What was the effect of the ancient unity of nations? Assimilation in law, language, trade, and social customs. A vague feeling of human brotherhood. Terence, before a turbulent Roman audience, once happened to pronounce the line: "I am a man, and I regard nothing that concerns man as foreign to me;" and the populace, accustomed to savage fights in the Coliseum, a populace degraded by a mythology in which the gods were represented as lepers, a populace sunk in the luxurious forms of barbarism characteristic of old Rome, applauded the strange sentiment. Celsus, however, one of the early opponents of Christianity, when the question came before him whether any one religion could ever be adopted for the world, answered his own inquiry by a sneer: "Whoever believes that such a religion is possible is insane."

What is to be the effect of the modern unity of nations? What are the opportunities of Christianity now as compared with those it had in Cæsar's vaunted day? How shall the question of Celsus be answered face to face with a world girdled with achievements of which Rome never dreamed? When Paul died, the Roman rim of land around the

Mediterranean was the world. Scholars have been taught, and I think they have allowed the public to rest too long in, an enthusiasm concerning that ancient opportunity utterly out of proportion to its size. No one knows how many people were in the Roman Empire at its best, but the estimates vary from eighty to one hundred and twenty millions. Take the average, and Paul had an opportunity of reaching, under the shield of the Roman power, fewer people than will be in the United States alone at the second American centennial. We fall into acclamations over the achievements of the Roman Empire, and our scholars dwell with fervor on the influence of the unity of Rome upon the spread of Christianity in the first century; but we are very inadequately moved when asked to contemplate the growing lines of intercommunication between modern continents on which there is now not a single foreign shore.

Whoever will glance at a map of the routes of ocean traffic will see that the world is fast becoming commercially a unit. The vast interests of ocean transit, and the yet vaster of land transit, are every year more closely interwoven. The United States and Great Britain, if they unite against piracy on the oceans, will be united against all war on the land. Pompey and Cæsar, it was once said at Rome, had cleared the Mediterranean of pirates. Great Britain and the commercial interests of the United States, it may now almost be said, have cleared all oceans of pirates. Whoever looks at the lines of ocean transit shooting out in thick warp and woof from coāst to

coast, will see the shuttles of Almighty Providence weaving the whole world into a commercial unity far closer than ever existed under Cæsar in the Roman Empire. By a preconcerted arrangement, the shores of nearly every sea, and multitudes in the chief cities of the planet, were united yesterday in prayer for the evangelization of the world. Christian union was the theme of the hour. It appears to be also the theme of the Supreme Powers who govern the ages.

Two points are incontrovertible, — that prophecy has been fulfilled, and that we have reason, therefore, to believe that it will be again. I open a book three thousand years old, and I read that the stone cut out of the mountain shall fill the whole earth. That prophecy has come to pass. I read that there will be a day when a kingdom shall be given to a religion founded in a specified centre of the world. That day has come. Here is a book, whether you call it inspired or not, which predicted the coming of this kingdom long before the first upstretching aurora of its light was seen above the east. That book has kept its promise with the nations. It has other promises yet unfulfilled. It will keep those also. When I look at the map of the world, and see the shuttles of intercommunication among nations thrown out North, South, East, and West, I hear the unfolding of the leaves of prophecy. The time has come when knowledge is increased, and many run to and fro. It is within the power of the Christians now on the globe to cause the

gospel to be preached to every living human creature before the end of this century. [Applause.]

What has Providence meant in carrying forward all the years of human history according to a given plan? I believe that what God does, he from the first intended to do. When I sat under Abraham's oak at Hebron, I opened the Scriptures, and read that from a chosen man should spring a chosen family; and that from a chosen family should spring a chosen race; and that from a chosen race should spring a founder of a new religious empire; and that out of a chosen race should thus come a chosen religion; and that this religion should embrace the earth. There stood the prophecies on the pages which I opened under the Syrian skies. No one doubts that these predictions were written ages before the date at which they began to be fulfilled. They are numerous, and full of details. Prophecies concerning the dispersion of the Jews, rationalism drops like hot iron every time it dares to discuss them. As I sat three hours alone under Abraham's oak, and read these statements concerning chosen man, family, nation, and religion, I could not but be impressed, I will not say with the feelings of superstition, but certainly with those of awe and terror and faith and hope. I revered straightforward thinking, and looked at the page of history. I could not but say that these mysterious prophecies have come to pass. There was a chosen man. There was a chosen family. There was a chosen nation. There has come from that nation a chosen religion. It is spreading over the

world. When I looked upward toward the sky, through the boughs of the oak, and remembered how, under one of the progenitors of that tree, Abraham entertained angels unawares, I could not but feel that human history, casting out its boughs in every direction, — in Asia, in Europe, in America, and in the isles of the sea, — is under the control of a mysterious Providence; and that God, who has for three thousand and four thousand years so conducted human affairs as to bring into power a certain set of religious opinions, will go on doing that in time to come. [Applause.] I shall not, for one, drop into anxiety at any little re-actionary eddy, when I find that an irresistible gulf-current, bursting out of the tropics of human history, is moving in one direction, and has been so moving for thousands of years. [Applause.]

Fasten attention upon the day when Abraham sat under the oaks at Hebron, and the day when Paul went out of the Ostian gate to die, and upon our present day. Three points determine the circumference of any curve. Draw a circle through these three points, — Abraham's oak, the Ostian gate when Paul went through it, and the present hour, — and I undertake to say that any man who loves clear ideas, and will stand at the centre of that historical circle, will be thrown into awe before the fulfilment of prophecy. I set no dates. Prophecy is, perhaps, never adequately explained except by its fulfilment. I will not attack the devout scholars who have lately, in a prophetic conference, discussed these topics with

great learning and earnestness. Much mischief, no doubt, may come from mysticism on the topic of prophecy; but more mischief may come from our coldness, from our indifference on this theme, and from our unwillingness to look upon the absolutely overawing facts that prophecy has been fulfilled; that, as the past has been, so the future will be; and that as God has kept, so he will continue to keep, his word with us. [Applause.] The same mysterious predictions which have been fulfilled to the letter for four thousand years foretell also the enswathing of the globe with a kingdom which now very nearly touches arms around it.

Nay, I may affirm that the arms already touch. Suppose that Lord Beaconsfield obtains what he says he is seeking, — a scientific boundary for India, or the Himalayas, as a barrier against attack from the north. England is now led by a political party greatly blind to what is just. When the pride of the average Briton is offended, his conscience easily goes to sleep. England fears attack from Russia, or it is the scheme of her present rulers to cause her to do so. The anticipation that some day a troublesome attack may be made on British power in the East, by Russia, is causing not a few good men on the other side of the Atlantic to hold their peace, while what I call — you may have your own opinion; I do not ask you to adopt mine — an unjust attack is made on Afghanistan. [Applause.] If, however, in time past, the evil that men have done has sometimes been overruled; if the mischief Cæsar and Pompey did

was of indirect use in the production of peace around the Mediterranean; if that peace was used as a platform on which early Christianity took its place, if in every age the purposes of the Supreme Powers have been approaching accomplishment, no matter how men have acted, — we must regard it, I think, as probable, that out of the turmoil in the East will come in some way an advance of the divine plan to give the globe to Christianity.

If there should be a scientific frontier obtained for Northern India, any attack on British power in the East will be rendered well-nigh impossible. It is not from little Cyprus that Great Britain is to resist Russia; it is not even from the Bosphorus that she can successfully protect herself against the great power of the North. Military men are very well agreed with Lord Beaconsfield in the opinion that it is from Afghanistan that British power in the East must obtain its security.

Give England a firm frontier in the Himalayas; let that gigantic mountain barrier prevent a land attack on her Eastern Empire, and then, since there can be no naval attack on her with any success, the future of Asia Minor, of Persia, of India, and of all the torrid seaboard of Asia, will be determined under British, and, I may say, under American, influences. We have a deep foothold of our own in Asia Minor. British and American fashions in politics, education, and religion, will be carried steadily on toward China, so surely as the scientific barrier is established in Afghanistan. Thus, as Homer said, the plan of the

gods is advancing. Who dares stand in the way of that plan? The unity of mankind is asserting itself more and more; and who shall resist it?

A cabinet at Washington, it is said, talks haughtily to China, and desires to have the Burlingame treaty modified, or perhaps abrogated. China may easily consent to its modification. If we choose to abrogate it, she cannot resist. Possibly there is danger that the Burlingame treaty will be abrogated, out and out, and that America, under the lead of a bloodthirsty mob on the Pacific coast, and fifth-rate politicians there, will shut our doors on the Pacific to emigrants willing to earn their own living. America has in California a door to China; America, in Asia Minor, has already opened a door to the sunset side of Asia. If Providence is proposing the regeneration of Asia by the increase of American and British influence along the Asiatic seaboard; if all the signs in the world, in short, show that there must be relations of justice between China and the United States, and our cabinet at Washington, wishing to save the vote of California in a national election, does differ from the Supreme Powers, and is ready to do an act of injustice, the ultimate result will be, that not the hoodlums of San Francisco, and not even the cabinet, will triumph over the plan of history. [Applause.]

The unity of mankind will assert itself more and more. The day will come when there will be just relations between the whole Asiatic seaboard and America and England. When that time arrives, who does not know that the American school and the

British and American missionary societies will be welcome to the Asiatic coast? Who does not see that lines of steamships will bring labor there into new demand? Who does not see a commercial regeneration slowly preparing for Asia? Who does not find in the gulf-current bursting out of the time of Abraham, through that of Paul and Cæsar, and down to our day, an indication of our duty, not merely to missions, and not merely toward Great Britain when she carries her power into Asia Minor, but also toward the hoodlums of California, and toward all who would lead us into a policy of injustice, of narrowness, and of barbarity? Let us not set ourselves against the Supreme Powers. When the gulf-current of history gathers its strength against any impediment, as in the case of slavery, and builds itself up behind the bulwark, we know how at last obstacles give way, and devastation follows.

Let Americans place no obstacles in the way of the unity of mankind. If the plan of the Supreme Powers for the regeneration of Asia must dam itself up behind the barrier of American political exclusiveness, or behind the bulwark of American penuriousness in supporting schools at home and abroad, the overturn of these impediments will give us trouble. Let us make no attempt to place obstacles before the gulf-current of history. Let it have free course; let it move out of the tropics in time to come, as it has in time past; let it flow to every coast of the globe! Let us launch our fleets upon it, and float with it. The Christian world has now knelt down to

pray seven days for the free course of a gulf-current proceeding from Abraham's time, through Cæsar's, to our own; and a sufficient reason for believing that the petitions will be granted is that there is prophecy that they shall be, and that prophecy in all the past has been fulfilled to the letter. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

When once we are convinced that natural wages and natural profits may exist together, we have passed through what I call the see-saw swamp in political economy; and on the firm land beyond the marsh, most of the questions concerning hours of labor, co-operation, and industrial partnership, adjust themselves without State interference.

It is hardly more than fifty years since the first fully endowed professorships in political economy were founded in England. The history of the science dates in Great Britain, as every one knows, from the publication of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" in 1776. You remember that in Oxford in 1825, Mr. Henry Drummond, a member of Parliament, endowed the first professorship on this subject. A similar chair was founded at Cambridge in 1828, but was not regularly established by the university until 1863, when Henry Fawcett was elected the first professor. It should surprise no one, that political economy has exhibited something of crudeness in its youth. As a branch of university instruction, it can hardly be said to have attained maturity as yet, in spite of the labors of McCulloch and Mill. Arch-

bishop Whately, as ministers will remember, expressed his opinion of the interest the science ought to have for the clergy, by himself founding a professorship of political economy at the University of Dublin. In 1871 a school of political science was founded at Paris by Boutmy; and its graduates are commonly at the head of the lists of successful aspirants in the competitive examinations for places in the civil service of France.

Young as it is, the philosophy of political science, as treated in the universities, has seen two or three revolutions. There are three or four schools of political economy; and it happens that the best American and German schools are agreed in denouncing what I have here called the see-saw theory, and that only the older school in Great Britain supports it. The younger British school, represented now by Bonamy Price, Professor Cairnes, and Professor Jevons, do not adopt the dismal theory that the relations of capital and labor are a see-saw, and that what one gains the other must lose, and that the two must therefore live in an internecine war. These teachers reject the theory of a wages-fund.

It is very important to notice that Lasalle, the father of modern German socialism, obtained his impressions of political economy largely from Malthus and Ricardo, the leaders of the dismallest sort of discussion in the dismal science. Lasalle used to say that if the English school of political economists, who had all the knowledge of modern times, was right, there was nothing for the working classes but

slavery, or a revolt against capital as the natural enemy of labor. In Germany, the school represented by Schulze-Delitzsch founded itself on the improved positions of the new political economy, and they were American rather than English. He founded himself largely on the American Carey and on the German List. Schulze-Delitzsch proclaims no attack on property. He escapes the see-saw marsh in which Lasalle was choked. He did much to cause working-men's savings banks and co-operative societies to be founded throughout the German Empire. At this hour Schulze-Delitzsch divides with Lasalle the hearts of German working-men. Lasalle represents the early mistakes, Schulze-Delitzsch the growing maturity, of political economy.

I congratulate this audience that it has passed through the ooze of early crudities in political science, and has found firm land on the other side. As we look back, however, we see trades-unions up to their knees in the fateful see-saw marsh. Trades-unions are most of them built on the fallacious theory that capital and labor must of necessity be at eternal war, because they draw their reward from the same fund.

1. This is the creed of most trade-unionists: —

(1) Capital and labor are in direct antagonism, because they divide the wages-fund between them, and what one gains the other loses.

(2) Capitalists can combine, and enforce lower wages than the state of the labor-market warrants, and they often do so.

(3) Laborers therefore must combine, and resist coercion by coercion.

(4) Trade-unions throughout a nation should assist each other by organizing contemporaneous strikes, or by assisting strikers to maintain themselves when not at work.

(5) Trade-unions should act as benefit-societies.

(6) Trade-unions must lay down and abide by certain economic principles, the chief of which are: —

Limitation of the length of the day's work.

Abolition of working by the piece.

Limitation of apprentices.

A uniform wage to be given to all laborers.

Refusal to work with non-unionists.

(See Professor BONAMY PRICE, *Practical Political Economy*, chap. viii.)

2. It thus appears that average trades-unions are founded on the mistaken principles of an outgrown school in political economy; that is, on the theory that the relations of capital and labor are a see-saw.

3. This lie needs eradication from the minds of trades-unionists as well as capitalists.

4. Trades-unions are mischievous so far as they tyrannize over employers and non-unionist workingmen.

5. They are useful so far as they inspirit laborers to self-help, and take the shape of benefit-societies.

6. Trades-unions are now nearly omnipresent in England and the United States in all the great branches of industry.

7. They tend to become national.

8. They tend to become *international.*

9. They tend, under universal suffrage, to become *political.*

10. Many of the objects of trades-unions are identical with the objects ought by socialistic political parties.

11. When the members of trades-unions and the members of socialistic political parties have the same political objects, their political alliance is natural.

12. Under universal suffrage, it is likely to be formidable.

Among the trades-unions in England and Wales there are 32,000 friendly societies, with 4,000,000 members, and more than $55,000,000 accumulated funds. These societies save to the poor-fund $10,000,000 a year. (*Fourth Report of Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on Trades-Unions*, 1874.)

Nobody, in America at least, pretends to complain when working-men combine for the fair and just protection of their own interests. Capitalists may combine to protect their own interests, and so, of course, may working-men.

The notorious evil in trades-unions, however, is the tyranny frequently exercised by their members over non-unionist working-men. Open the regulations of some of the trades-unions in Great Britain, and you will find them prohibiting the employment of one's own brother or son, unless he is in a trades society. The mason who is called to do a job, and finds he needs a carpenter, must not so much as saw off one plank, but must wait for the carpenter to be

summoned to do the work. If the carpenter finds a brick in the way of his saw, he must wait until the mason changes the place of the impediment. You must never act as your own assistant. I do not say that a majority of British trades-unions enforce these rules; but some of them do, and they are characteristic of the system. In Leeds the rule is that you must not carry more than eight bricks in a hod. You may carry ten in London, and twelve in Liverpool. If trades-unions wish to bring themselves into universal contempt, let them go on legislating against their fellow-workingmen who are non-unionists. Some years ago a cartoon in Punch represented a British working-man in his hovel, without work during a strike, and his wife cowering over an empty grate, while a well-dressed officer of a working-men's trades-union was berating the husband for his intention to go to work: "You mean to work, do you? You mean to give in, do you? Not if I know it." There is no form of tyranny worse than unionists have sometimes exercised over non-unionist workingmen. Mr. Gladstone, discussing this topic once, and defending the right of four men who had been persecuted because they were non-unionist laborers, said, "If Great Britain has become a place where the majority can oppress the minority in this way, it has come to be a place of which I should say that the sooner we get out of it, the better." In regard to the United States, under a suffrage wider than that of Great Britain, we may say with more emphasis than Gladstone's, that if trades-unions ob-

tain the political power they are seeking, and act as they usually have done when able to have their own way, the United States will soon be such a place that the sooner we get out of it the better. [Applause.] A New York citizen, who wanted papering done in his house, ordered it of a society-man, as he was called; and the bill brought in was ten dollars a day. "Well, but your work is not worth this," said the employer. "Yes, but you cannot get anybody to do it for less. I belong to a trades-union, and we have all agreed to ask a certain price. You will find on investigation that I am asking you what any one else will." This case of shameless extortion is typical of whole ranges of facts that I might put before you. While I denounce these evils of trade-unions, however, I must not be understood as denying the right of working-men to combine.

May working-men combine in a strike? That is a very rude measure, and usually does more harm than good, but it is the chief weapon of trades-unions. You say that strikes do not generally succeed; but make a distinction. *On a rising market strikes often succeed; on a falling they usually fail.* Half the time working-men do not know when to strike. If the prices of goods are rising, and working-men strike, manufacturers, of course, cannot afford to shut their mills. But if men strike on a falling market, capital can fold its arms, and say, "We can make more money by shutting our mills than by keeping them open," and sometimes profitably answer the strike by a lockout. Capital does not starve by waiting, but

labor may. Capital does not diminish by waiting. Time unsold cannot be brought to market a second time. It perishes in postponement. Mr. Thornton, in his elaborate book on "Labor," defends the opinion that in Great Britain the majority of strikes, both on a rising and on a falling market, have succeeded. Certain it is, that the average of wages in trades where strikes are frequent has been raised in the last fifty years, if not by strikes, then by the fear of them. Very often when manufacturers do not yield at the time of a strike they raise wages afterwards. Strikes have probably succeeded in the majority of cases on a rising market, and yet they are the most barbaric of all the weapons that labor employs.

Are trades-unions a nursery of socialism?

Go to Chicago, go to the door of Tremont Temple, and you may purchase socialistic newspapers of a type of which this is a specimen [holding up a newspaper]. In this official socialistic sheet, nearly half a page is taken up with a trades-union directory: "Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners," "Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers," "Miners' National Association," "Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen," — these are a few out of scores of titles reprinted every week in this publication.

I turn to the official announcement of the object of the paper, and find that: "'The Socialist' will record the proceedings of all trades-unions, especially of amalgamated and centralized unions, whenever sent us. We shall discuss all the various phases of

the labor movement. We expect all unions and sections, as well as individual members, throughout the country, to promptly send us reports and items upon all matters of importance to the labor cause."

What is the socialistic platform? In this country it is somewhat altered in shape from the form it has in the Old World, but here is the platform which this paper prints in connection with these lists of trades-unions: "We demand that the resources of life — the means of production, public transportation and communication (land, machinery, railroads, telegraph-lines, canals, &c.,) — become, as fast as practicable, the common property of the whole people through the government; thus to abolish the wages-system, and substitute in its stead co-operative production, with a just distribution of its rewards." [Applause.]

Why have I demanded education for working-men? Why have I insisted, as if on a question of life or death, on the rights of factory-children? Why have I been taking your time by giving reasons for the execution of the school-laws which provide for compulsory education? Because, if trades-unions are filled with an ignorant set of working-men, socialistic doctrines will take root in that soil. The results of socialism in the United States, were it to spread here, would be more disastrous than in Germany, simply because popular suffrage on the Hudson and the Mississippi has more power than on the Elbe and the Oder. The truth is that trades-unions, all over the United States, are seeking political power, and are therefore likely to be frequently under temp-

tation to form alliance with socialistic labor parties. American trades-unions are now not socialistic; but let an ignorant, hereditary operative class come into existence here, and they may easily fall a prey to socialistic demagogues. Once give socialists in the United States a majority of votes, and you will speedily learn the distinction between voluntary and compulsory socialism. An unforced agreement of men to go into a socialistic community is one thing: compulsory socialism is another. Under universal suffrage, with political primacy once grasped by the hands of working-men, who are seventy or eighty out of every hundred of voters, there may come a time when socialism, instead of being voluntary, will be compulsory, and nationalization of the lands, the railroads, the canals, the telegraphs, be forced upon you by the suffrage of an ignorant population. Compulsory socialism is the chief danger in the future of universal suffrage; and from that peril, which means nothing less than spoliation and anarchy, may God and discussion in the Church and State save us! [Applause.]

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I. AMERICAN OPINIONS.

The Bibliotheca Sacra for January, 1880.

The Boston Monday Lectureship is now in its fifth year. One hundred and thirty-five lectures on abstruse and difficult topics have been delivered to noon audiences of extraordinary size, and containing sometimes two hundred ministers, with large numbers of teachers and other educated men. Each lecture has been preceded by a short address, called a Prelude on Current Events, and discussing some topic of urgent political or religious importance, like civil service reform, temperance, fraud in elections, Mormonism, the Chinese question, the Bible in schools, the Indian question, or the negro exodus. In revising the stenographic reports, both the lecture and the prelude are usually somewhat expanded by their author, so that a prelude in print is often more than thirty minutes in length. The lecturer has thus treated two important topics on each occasion; and the contrast of the practical matter of the prelude with the more speculative and scientific substance of the lecture, has assisted in fixing public attention upon both. Mr. Cook has been the first speaker to employ preludes in this contrast with theological and metaphysical lectures.

Great pains have been taken to secure the fullest information for the preludes from official sources at Washington and elsewhere. The committee in charge of the Boston Monday Lectureship embraces thirty-six members, of whom twelve are an Executive Board, representing different evangelical denominations in Boston, and twenty-four are scattered through the country all the way to Cail-

fornia. Written permission to add their names to the committee has been given by such men as President McCosh of Princeton College, Professor Hitchcock of New York, Dr. Storrs of Brooklyn, Bishop Huntington of Syracuse, Professor Mead of Oberlin College, Professor Curtiss of Chicago Theological Seminary, Dr. Post of St. Louis, and Drs. Gibson and Stone of San Francisco. It will readily be seen that consultation from time to time by letter with so large and distinguished a committee, and with other public men with whom the lecturer forms acquaintance in his extensive travel, together with the opportunity of wide personal observation, makes the preludes an important source of suggestions as to current reform, and a most useful means of discussing popular evils as they arise. The independence of the platform adds to the effect of its treatment of living issues. It is noticeable, that, in both the Scotch and English republications of Mr. Cook's volumes, the preludes are included in full. It is believed that no leading articles in any newspaper in England or America are so extensively copied by the press as the preludes of the Boston Monday Lectureship. Each one is intended to be a compact prose sonnet, discussing current events from the religious point of view.

The thirty lectures delivered in the second year of the lectureship, which was founded in 1875, are comprised in the three volumes entitled "Biology," "Transcendentalism," and "Orthodoxy." The results of the third year of the lectureship are embraced in the volumes entitled "Conscience," "Heredity," and "Marriage." Those of the fourth year are summarized in the books called "Labor" and "Socialism," now in press. It is understood that the present series of lectures will make two more volumes, to be entitled "Culture" and "Miracles."

During the third year of the lectureship, Mr. Cook gave six lectures in New York City, besides speaking in most of the prominent cities of the North-eastern States. In the season of 1878 and 1879, he conducted a Boston Monday-noon Lectureship and a New York Thursday-evening Lectureship at the same time. In his course of the preceding year in New York City, he had been introduced by presiding officers like Professor Hitchcock, Dr. William Adams, Professor Schaff, and William Cullen Bryant, and the audiences were extraordinarily large. On the closing evening of his second course in New York, some two hundred people were turned away, unable to find standing-room, and the money for their tickets was refunded. In the spring and summer succeeding the last full course of the lectureship, he visited California, and performed a service at the dedication of a chapel in the Yosemite Valley. He studied and discussed Mormonism in Salt Lake City, and the Chinese question in California.

In the year ending July 4, 1878, Mr. Cook delivered one hundred and fifty lectures; sixty in the East, ten of them in New York City, and sixty in the West; besides thirty new lectures in Boston, which were published in that city, New York, and London; issued three volumes, one of which is now in its sixteenth and another in its thirteenth edition; and travelled, on his lecture-trips, ten thousand five hundred miles.

In the year ending July 4, 1879, he delivered one hundred and sixty lectures; seventy-two in the East, twenty of them in Boston and ten in New York, seventy in the West, five in Canada, two in Utah, and eleven in California, of which five were in San Francisco.

He twice crossed the continent in the last four months of the season, and in the last nine months has travelled, on his lecture-trips, twelve thousand five hundred miles. In the former of these seasons he addressed large audiences in sixteen, and in the latter in seventeen, college towns.

It is worth noting that Mr. Cook has no church nor parish work on his hands, although he not infrequently speaks in a church on Sundays. Living opposite the Boston Athenæum Library, and using it as much as though it were his own, the lecturer has found time, outside of all his other work, to carry through the press, in three years, the eight volumes of Monday Lectures, issued by Houghton, Osgood, & Co.

Mr. Cook had a previous preparation of at least ten years' study, at home and abroad, for the discussion of the relations of Christianity to the sciences.

"The New York Independent" owns the copyright of the present series of lectures, and sells the right of republication to other papers. There are now published, and have been for the last two years, over one hundred thousand newspaper copies of the Boston Monday Lectures and preludes in full, and over three hundred thousand copies of the preludes and parts of the lectures. The Committee of the Boston Monday Lectureship reported in March last, that, at a moderate estimate, more than a million readers in the United States and Great Britain are reached weekly.

In September, 1880, Mr. Cook intends to suspend his American lectures for a year, at least, and to seek opportunity for rest and study in England and Germany.

President James McCosh, Princeton College, in the Catholic Presbyterian for September, 1879.

What influence I may have had on Mr. Cook, I do not know; but I am pleased to notice that on intuition and several other subjects, he is promulgating to thousands the same views I had been thinking out in my study, and propounding to my students, in Belfast and in Princeton. From scattered notices, I gather that he was born (in 1838) and reared, and still lives in his leisure days, in that region in which the loveliest of American lakes, Lake Champlain and Lake George, lie embosomed among magnificent mountains. He was trained for college at Phillips Academy, under the great classical teacher, Dr. Taylor; was two years at Yale College, and two years at Harvard, graduating at the latter in 1865, first in philosophy and rhetoric of his class. He then joined Andover Theological Seminary, went through the regular three-years' course there, and lingered a year longer at that place, pondering deeply the relations of science and religion, which continued to be the theme of his thoughts and his study for the next ten years. At this stage he received much impulse from Professor Park, who requires every student to reason out and to defend his opinions; and many sound philosophic principles from Sir William Hamilton and other less eminent men of the Scottish school. He spoke from time to time at religious meetings, and was for one year the pastor of a Congregational church, but never sought a settlement. In September, 1871, he went abroad, and studied for two years, under special directions from Tholuck, at Halle, Berlin, and Heidelberg; and received a mighty influence from Julius Muller of Halle, Dorner of Berlin, Kuno Fischer of Heidelberg, and Hermann Lotze of Gottingen. He then

travelled for a time in Italy, Egypt, Syria, Greece, Turkey, Switzerland, France, England, and Scotland. Returning to the United States in 1873, he took up his residence in Boston, and became a lecturer in New England on the subject to which his studies had been so long directed, the relations of religion and science. For a time he lectured at Amherst College; and, while doing so, he was invited to conduct noon meetings in Boston.

Mr. Cook did not take up the work he has accomplished, as a trade, or by accident, or from impulse; but for years he had been preparing for it, and prepared for it by an overruling guidance. I regard Joseph Cook as a Heaven-ordained man. He comes at the fit time; that is, at the time he is needed. He comes forth in Boston, which is undoubtedly the most literary city in America, and one of the great literary cities of the world. I am not sure that even Edinburgh can match it, now that London is drawing towards it and gathering up the intellectual youth of Scotland. It has a character of its own in several respects. I have here to speak only of its religious character. Half a century ago its Orthodoxy had sunk into Unitarianism — a re-action against a formal Puritanism — led by Channing, who adorned his bald system by his high personal character and the eloquence of his style. People could not long be satisfied by a negation, and Parkerism followed; and a convulsive life was thrown into the skeleton of natural religion by an *a priori* speculation, derived from the pretentious philosophies of Germany, in which the Absolute took the place of God, and untested intuition the place of the Bible. The movement culminated in Ralph Waldo Emerson, a feebler but a more lovable Thomas Carlyle, — the one coming out of a decaying Puritanism, the other out of a decaying Covenanterism. But those who would mount to heaven in a balloon have sooner or later to come down to earth. The young men of Harvard College, led by their able president, have more taste for the new physical science, with its developments, than for a visionary metaphysics. As I remarked some time ago in a literary organ, Unitarianism has died, and is laid out for decent burial. Meanwhile there is a marked revival of Evangelism, and the Congregational and Episcopal churches have as much thoughtfulness and culture as the Unitarians. Harvard now cares as little for Unitarianism as it does for Evangelism — simply taking care that Orthodoxy does not rule over its teaching. But the question arises, What are our young men to believe in these days when Darwinism and Spencerism and Evolutionism are taught in our journals, in our schools, and in our colleges? To my knowledge, this question is as anxiously put by Unitarian parents of the old school, who cling firmly to the great truths of natural religion, and to the Bible as a teacher of morality, as it is by the Orthodox.

Such was the state of thought and feeling, of belief and unbelief, of apprehension and of desire, when Joseph Cook came to Boston without any flourish of trumpets preceding him. Numbers were prepared to welcome him as soon as they knew what the man was, and what he was aiming at. Orthodox ministers, not very well able themselves to wrestle with the new forms of infidelity, rejoiced in the appearance of one who had as much power of eloquence as Parker, and vastly more acquaintance with philosophy than the mystic Emerson, and who seemed to know what truth and what error there are in these doctrines of development and heredity. The best of the Unitarians, not knowing whither their sons were drifting,

were pleased to find one who could keep them from open infidelity. Young men, tired of old rationalism, which they saw to be very irrational, delighted to listen to one who evidently spoke boldly and sincerely, and could talk to them of these theories about evolution and the origin of species and the nature of man. The consequence was, his audiences increased from year to year. He first lectured in the Meionaon in 1875. The attendance at noon on Mondays was so large that his meetings had to be transferred to Park-street Church in October, 1876; and finally, in 1876-77, in 1877-78 and 1879, to the enormous Tremont Temple, which is often crowded to excess. In the audience there were at times two hundred ministers, many teachers, and other educated persons. His lectures, in whole or in abstract, appeared in leading newspapers, and his fame spread over all America; and, continuing his Monday addresses in Boston, he was invited, on the other days of the week, to lecture all over the country. He now lectures in the principal cities from the Atlantic to the Pacific, always drawing a large and approving audience.

Some scientific sciolists have thrown out doubts as to the accuracy of his knowledge, but have not been able to detect him in any misstatement of fact. He lightens and thunders, throwing a vivid light on a topic by an expression or comparison, or striking a presumptuous error as by a bolt from heaven. He is not afraid to discuss the most abstract, scientific, or philosophic themes before a popular audience; he arrests his hearers first by his earnestness, then by the clearness of his exposition, and fixes the whole in the mind by the earnestness of his moral purpose.

Rev. Professor A. P. Peabody, of Harvard University, in the Independent.

Joseph Cook is a phenomenon to be accounted for. No other American orator has done what he has done, or any thing like it; and, prior to the experiment, no voice would have been bold enough to predict its success.

We reviewed Mr. Cook's "Lectures on Biology" with unqualified praise. In the present volume we find tokens of the same genius, the same intensity of feeling, the same lightning flashes of impassioned eloquence, the same vise-like hold on the rapt attention and absorbing interest of his hearers and readers. We are sure that we are unbiased by the change of subject; for, though we dissent from some of the dogmas which the author recognizes in passing, there is hardly one of his consecutive trains of thought in which we are not in harmony with him, or one of his skirmishes in which our sympathies are not wholly on his side.

Rev. Dr. Thomas Hill, Ex-President of Harvard University, in the Christian Register.

These lectures are crowded so full of knowledge, of thought, of argument, illumined with such passages of eloquence and power, spiced so frequently with deep-cutting though good-natured irony, that I could make no abstract from them without utterly mutilating them.

Professor Francis Bowen, Harvard University.

I do not know of any work on conscience in which the true theory of ethics is so clearly and forcibly presented, together with the logical inferences from it in support of the great truths of religion.

The Princeton Review.

Mr. Cook has already become famous; and these lectures are among the chief works that have, and we may say justly, made him so. Their celebrity is due partly to the place and circumstances of their delivery, but still more to their inherent power, without which no adventitious aids could have lifted them into the deserved prominence they have attained. . . . Mr. Cook is a great master of analysis. . . . The lecture on the Atonement is generally just, able, and unanswerable. . . . We think, on the whole, that Mr. Cook shows singular justness of view in his manner of treating the most difficult and perplexing themes; for example, God in natural law, and the Trinity.

Boston Daily Advertiser.

At high noon on Monday, Tremont Temple was packed to suffocation and overflowing, although five thousand people were in the Tabernacle at the same hour. The Temple audience consisted chiefly of men, and was of distinguished quality, containing hundreds of persons well known in the learned professions. Wendell Phillips, Edward Everett Hale, Bronson Alcott, and many other citizens of eminence, sat on the platform. No better proof than the character of the audience could have been desired to show that Mr. Cook's popularity as a lecturer is not confined to the evangelical denominations. (Feb. 7.)

It is not often that Boston people honor a public lecturer so much as to crowd to hear him at the noon-tide of a week-day; and, when it does this month after month, the fact is proof positive that his subject is one of engrossing interest. Mr. Cook, perhaps more than any gentleman in the lecture-field the past few years, has been so honored. (Feb. 14.)

The Independent.

We know of no man that is doing more to-day to show the reasonableness of Christianity, and the unreasonableness of unbelief; nor do we know of any one who is doing it with such admirable tolerance yet dramatic intensity.

Professor Borden P. Bowne, of Boston University, in the Sunday Afternoon.

In the chapters on the theories of life, these discussions are, in many respects, models of argument; and the descriptions of the facts under discussion are often unrivalled for both scientific exactness and rhetorical adequacy of language. In the present state of the debate there is no better manual of the argument than the work in hand. The emptiness of the mechanical explanation of life was never more clearly shown.

The Bibliotheca Sacra.

There is no other work on biology, there is no other work on theology, with which this volume of lectures can well be compared; it is a book that no biologist, whether an originator or a mere middleman in science, would ever have written. Traversing a very wide field, cutting right across the territories of rival specialists, it contains not one important scientific misstatement, either of fact or theory. Not only the propositions, but the dates, the references, the names, and the histories of scientific discoveries and speculations, are presented as they are found in the sources whence they are taken, or, at least, with only verbal and minor changes.

The Eclectic Magazine.

It may be said unqualifiedly that the pulpit has never brought such comprehensiveness and precision of knowledge, combined with such logical and literary skill, to the discussion of the questions raised by the supposed tendency of biological discovery.

The Advance, Chicago.

This Boston Lectureship is altogether unique in the recent history of popular exposition of abstruse themes. One has to go back to the time of Peter Abelard, of the University of Paris, for a parallel to it.

II. FOREIGN OPINIONS.

Rev. R. Payne Smith, Dean of Canterbury.

The lectures are remarkably eloquent, vigorous, and powerful, and no one could read them without great benefit. They deal with very important questions, and are a valuable contribution towards solving many of the difficulties which at this time trouble many minds.

Rev. Dr. Angus, the College, Regent's Park.

These lectures discuss some of the most vital questions of theology, and examine the views or writings of Emerson, Theodore Parker, and others. They are creating a great sensation in Boston, where they have been delivered, and are wonderful specimens of shrewd, clear, and vigorous thinking. They are moreover, largely illustrative, and have a fine vein of poetry running through them. The lectures on the Trinity are capitally written; and, though we are not prepared to accept all Mr. Cook's statements, the lectures, as a whole, are admirable. A dozen such lectures have not been published for many a day.

Rev. Alexander Raleigh, D.D., of London.

The lectures are in every way of a high order. They are profound and yet clear, extremely forcible in some of their parts, yet, I think, always fair, and as full of sympathy with what is properly and purely human as of reverence for what is undoubtedly divine.

Rev. John Ker, D.D., of Glasgow.

My conviction is, that they are specially fitted for the time, and likely above all to be useful to thoughtful minds engaged in seeking a footing amid the quicksands of doubt. There is a freshness, a power, and a felt sincerity, in the way in which they deal with the engrossing questions of our time, and, indeed, of all time, which should commend them to earnest spirits which feel that there must be a God and a soul, and some way of bringing them together, and which yet have got confused amid the negations of the dogmatic scepticism of our day. I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Cook four years ago, when he was visiting Europe to make himself acquainted with different forms of thought; and I could see in him a power and resolution which foretold the mark he is now making on public opinion.

Rev. C. H. Spurgeon.

These are very wonderful lectures. We bless God for raising up such a champion for his truth as Joseph Cook. Few could hunt down Theodore Parker, and all that race of misbelievers, as Mr. Cook has done. He has strong convictions, the courage of his convictions, and force to support his courage. In reasoning, the infidel party have here met their match. We know of no other man one-half so well qualified for the peculiar service of exploding the pretensions of modern science as this great preacher in whom Boston is rejoicing. Some men shrink from this spiritual wild-boar hunting; but Mr. Cook is as happy in it as he is expert. May his arm be strengthened by the Lord of hosts!

London Quarterly Review.

For searching philosophical analysis, for keen and merciless logic, for dogmatic assertion of eternal truth in the august name of science such as fills the soul to its foundations, for widely diversified and most apt illustrations drawn from a wide field of reading and observation, for true poetic feeling, for a pathos without any mixture of sentimentality, for candor, for moral elevation, and for noble loyalty to those great Christian verities which the author affirms and vindicates, wonderful lectures stand forth alone amidst the contemporary literature of the class to which they belong.

The British Quarterly Review.

Mr. Cook is a man of wide reading, tenacious memory, acute discrimination, and great power of popular exposition. Nothing deters him. He plunges *in medias res*, however abstruse the speculation, and his vigor and fire carry all before them. He has intuitive genius for pricking wind-bags, and for reducing over-sanguine and exaggerated hypotheses to their exact value. He has called a halt in many an impetuous march of science, and exposed a fundamental fallacy in many a triumphant argument.

The London Spectator.

Vigorous and suggestive; interesting from the glimpses they give of the present phases of speculation in what is emphatically the most thoughtful community in the United States.

Professor Schöberlein, Göttingen University, Germany.

I admired the rhetorical power with which, before a large, mixed audience, the speaker knew how to handle the difficult topic of biology, and to cause the teachings of German philosophers and theologians to be respected.

Professor Ulrici, University of Halle, Germany.

His object is the foundation of a new and true metaphysics, resting on a biological basis; that is, the proof of the truth of philosophical theism, and of the fundamental ideas of Christianity. These intentions he carries out with a full, and occasionally with a too full, application of his eminent oratorical talent, and with great sagacity, and with thorough knowledge of the leading works in physiology for the last thirty years.